

**THE DEVELOPMENT IN THE DESIGN OF EARLY JAPANESE
STATE TEMPLES.**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis primarily aims to trace the development of the major Japanese state temples built during the period from the end of the sixth century to the middle of the eighth century. After Buddhism was officially introduced to the Japanese Court in 538 it was adopted and developed as the national religion in order to bolster the Imperial system, which also developed and established itself during the period of the present study.

Early state Buddhist temples seem to have been used as national monuments to demonstrate the prestige of the emperor and the Imperial system, but in order to understand their nature and function we began our investigation with a study of the spiritual as well as the political climate of Japan to which Buddhism was transplanted. We have discussed the major architectural concepts of the Japanese pre-Buddhist period, concentrating on the Ise Shrine, and we have observed that some of the typical features suggest what the basic preferences of the early Japanese temple architecture were.

The first full-scale Japanese Buddhist temple was erected in 588 and was called Asuka-dera. We discovered that this temple had contained several pre-Buddhist Shinto symbolism in spite of the fact that its form had closely modelled a Korean temple. Asuka-dera was followed by Shitenno-ji style temples, most of which were built at the beginning of the seventh century. We have argued that these were the first Japanese temples to demonstrate explicitly the notion of national defence, and have discussed what architectural devices were employed to express this particular concept.

We then went on to provide an analysis and assessment of the Second Horyu-ji. This was the most sophisticated kind of temple built during the first stage of Japanese temple development, i.e., when temples were built primarily to serve as symbolic monuments to be looked at from a distance. It was the building of the Kawahara-dera that seems to have marked the beginning of the second stage of the development. During this stage temples were built to provide accommodation for elaborate imperial ceremonies. Such temples as Yakushi-ji, Daian-ji and Todai-ji, all built in Nara during the period from the end of the seventh century to the middle of the eighth century, were designed for this purpose.

**I hereby declare that the present thesis has
been entirely written by myself.**

Takaaki Hashida

May, 1980.

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I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor C.B. Wilson and Mr. M. Birkhans, who gave me the opportunity to study in Edinburgh and supervised my work with understanding and patience, during the period of my study. Without their constant guidance and encouragement, this thesis would not have been completed.

My thanks are due to Mrs. Yvonne de Henseler, Miss Yuriko Chuma, Mr. John Welford and Miss Moira Calderwood, who offered generous assistance in editing this thesis.

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PREFACE

Although efforts have been made to use English forms for Japanese words as much as possible, more often than not Japanese words had to be retained because of there being no adequate English equivalents. Each Japanese word is underlined and explained at the first instance of its use in the thesis, and in most cases the rough English equivalent is given in brackets in its subsequent use. A glossary is provided in Appendix VI.

As far as the name of the place is concerned, old names such as Heian-kyo and Naniwa are followed by their modern names (Kyoto and Oaska) in brackets. The locations of most places mentioned in this thesis are given in the map of Appendix IV.

The names of emperors and empresses are followed by the figures in brackets, indicating the period of their reign. The list of Japanese rulers from the introduction of Buddhism to the end of the Nara period is shown in Appendix V.

The names of Japanese Buddhist temples are retained as they are used in Japan, i.e. English word 'temple' is not attached to each name (e.g. Asuka-dera temple) as has been done by some Western archaeologists. In Japanese, 'dera', 'tera' and 'ji' are three ways of pronouncing the character '寺' which means temple.

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CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

It was not until the end of the 19th century, which is shortly after Japan had re-opened the country to the outside world after having lived in isolation for more than 200 years, that academic researches into the field of Japanese ancient architecture were instituted. In Japan the term 'ancient architecture' is normally understood to mean architecture of the period called the Asuka-Nara era, which is between the end of the sixth century and the end of the eighth century. Various architectural forms did exist before this period, but they were on the whole primitive.

The Asuka-Nara era consists of two distinct periods: the Asuka period (538-710) and the Nara period (710-794), when the capital was in the Asuka region and Heijo-kyo (the present Nara city) respectively. In Japanese history the beginning of the Asuka period is marked by the official introduction of Buddhism to the Court in 538¹ though the Asuka area had been the political centre since the middle of the fourth century (Naoki, 1965, p.6).

1. There are two different dates associated with this incident in the texts. Although the Nihon Shoki (the Chronicles of Japan, an eighth century compilation that terminates in the year 697) gives 552, most contemporary historians seem to have accepted 538, as indicated in the Shoku Nihongi (the Chronicles of Japan which covers 697-792) and other historical documents.

During the Asuka-Nara era Buddhism, given great encouragement by the Imperial Court, rapidly developed as a national religion, and therefore it is Buddhist temples built with highly advanced techniques imported from the Continent, that represent the architecture of this era.

At the end of the sixth century Asuka-dera, the first full-scale Japanese temple, was erected in the capital, and was followed by Shitenno-ji built in Naniwa (Osaka). At the beginning of the seventh century several temples were built with the same plan as that of Shitenno-ji, but the temple style showed a remarkable change in Kawahara-dera, constructed at about the middle of the seventh century. At the turn of the seventh and eighth centuries came Horyu-ji followed by Yakushi-ji and Daian-ji. When the capital was moved to Heijo-kyo in 710, Kofuku-ji and Ganko-ji were built, and the construction of temples flourished vigorously in the new capital and further extended to the provinces. The enthusiasm and aspiration of the Nara emperors culminated in the construction of Todai-ji, which included the Main Hall (the biggest wooden architecture in the history of the world) to house a gigantic bronze statue of the Great Buddha.

Among the major important temples of the Asuka-Nara era, Shitenno-ji, Horyu-ji, Yakushi-ji, Kofuku-ji and Todai-ji are still in existence and have been used as Buddhist temples to the present day. However, with the exception of Horyu-ji, they were all burnt down and rebuilt at least a few times. Naturally the rebuilding, together

with occasional repair work, has brought about considerable changes each time in building style and architectural details. In many cases, it is hardly possible for an ordinary visitor to visualise the original form of the temple, based on its present appearance.²

The most important source of information, among the existing temples, about the temple architecture of the early Buddhist period is Horyu-ji, the oldest wooden structure in the world. It is natural, therefore, that academic research into ancient Japanese architecture should have first started with a study of this temple by Chuta Ito of Tokyo University in the 1880's. In 1896 the Old Shrines and Temples Preservation Act was laid down, and under this Act a number of important temples and shrines were designated as special cultural properties, and a national fund was set up to subsidise their repair and maintenance. During the period from the end of the 1890's and the end of the 1910's, about half of the temple architecture of the Asuka-Nara era underwent repairs and scientific investigation (Asano, 1977, p.15). At the beginning of the 1900's, Ito and Tadashi Sekino, the other pioneer in the study of Japanese architectural history, conducted intensive archaeological research on Chinese and Korean temple

2. For example, in the present Yakushi-ji it is only the east pagoda that maintains the style it was first built in (Fukuyama, 1974, p.77).

architecture which had had a great influence on its Japanese counterpart.

It is at the beginning of the 1930's that the activities of the second generation of architectural historians came to be prominent. Around this time the importance of studying old literary texts was realised by researchers, and the systematic collection and investigation into documentary material relevant to ancient architecture was carried out. Professor Toshio Fukuyama of Kyoto University produced outstanding achievements in this field, and he is particularly well-known for his great contribution to the study of the Ise Shrine. The original plans of major temples of the Nara period such as Kofuku-ji, Yakushi-ji, Ganko-ji and Daian-ji were reconstructed after a careful study of ancient texts and archaeological excavations.

In 1926 the Old Shrines and Temples Preservation Act was revised and was re-named the National Treasure Building Preservation Act. The amendment brought a wider range of temples and shrines under government protection. Since 1934 preservation efforts have concentrated on Horyu-ji, which had many buildings in need of fundamental repairs (Asano, 1977, p.19). By this time vast improvements had been made in archaeological techniques, and even in the case of a building which had undergone several repairs at different periods, the original form and the process of repairing at each stage came to be revealed.

The excavation carried out at Horyu-ji in 1939, in particular, is well-known for the fact that it put to an end a long-disputed argument about the date of the temple. Since the beginning of this century there had been a heated argument between two groups of historians: those who claimed that the present Horyu-ji was the original Horyu-ji built in 607 and those who believed that it was rebuilt after 670. The former based their argument on the fact that the present Horyu-ji maintains some of the architectural features that are normally regarded as characteristic of the early Asuka period, and the latter found their reason in the account of the Nihon Shoki, which records that the Horyu-ji was burnt down completely by the fire of 670 (Naoki, 1965, pp. 124-133). After the excavation of what was suspected to be the remains of the original Horyu-ji,³ it was revealed that the original Horyu-ji was built at a different spot in a different style from the present Horyu-ji.

The result of this excavation demonstrated to architectural historians that they cannot always rely solely on architectural details to estimate the date of a building, as old features are sometimes retained in the reconstruction of the building at a later period.

3. The remains are on the south-east corner of the Sai-in (west sub-temple) complex (see 5.2).

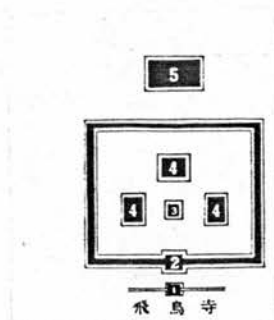
As a rule the present rebuilt Horyu-ji is simply called Horyu-ji, but in this thesis we shall hereafter refer to it as the Second Horyu-ji to set it apart from the original temple, which will be called the First Horyu-ji.

After the Second World War, excavations were undertaken on temples which were fairly well known through the old literature but where almost nothing but nondescript buildings were left standing. Notable among these were the Asuka-dera and Kawahara-dera. Asuka-dera was first excavated between 1956 and 1957 while from 1953 the remains of Heijo-kyo and Kawahara-dera were unearthed. Although the excavations have not been completed yet at either site, the investigations carried out so far have been most informative and have thrown new light upon the beginning of Buddhist architecture in Japan.

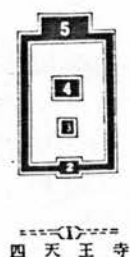
1.2 Aim of the thesis

When almost every major temple and numerous minor temples of the Asuka-Nara era had been excavated and their plans re-constructed, it became clear that the temples of this period had undergone rapid and remarkable changes in plan (see Fig. 1).

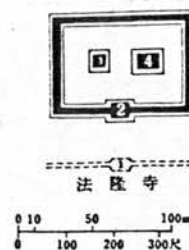
Fig.1 The Plans of the Major State Temples of the Asuka-Nara Era.



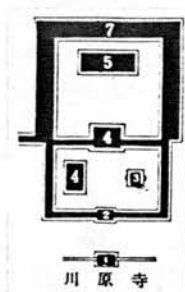
(a) Asuka-dera



(b) Shitenno-ji

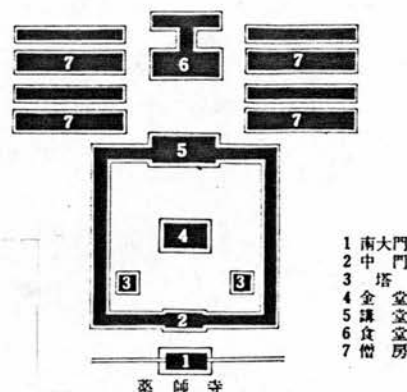


(c) Horyu-ji



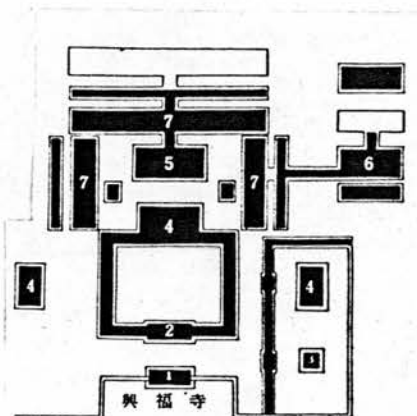
(d) Kawahara-dera

0 50 100m



(e) Yakushi-ji

- (1) South Gate
- (2) Middle Gate
- (3) pagoda
- (4) Kondo
- (5) Lecture Hall
- (6) Refectory
- (7) Dormitory



(f) Kofuku-ji

(Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai, 1968, F17)

In Japanese early Buddhist temples the main entrance was the South Gate. There was also another gate, the Middle Gate, attached to the south of a rectangular cloister, which enclosed the temple's nucleus. While in the temples from the sixth to seventh centuries both the pagoda and the Kondo⁴ stood inside the cloistered area, in the eighth century the pagoda became double and was eventually removed to the outside of the cloister. Behind the Kondo was the Lecture Hall, to which the cloister was sometimes attached. Outside the cloister to the north there was a bell tower and a sutra repository on either side, and normally still further north stood the refectory and dormitory.

The only feature shared by most of the early Japanese Buddhist temples is that they are orientated towards the south. Kidder (1972, p.79) points out that the north-south axis rarely varied more than five degrees east of north after the Taika Reform of 645 (see 1.3). Apart from this, however, there is hardly anything common

4. Kondo is the hall where the principal Buddha image of the temple is placed. It is sometimes translated as 'Golden Hall' (literal translation of Chinese characters for Kondo), 'Main Hall' or as 'Buddha Hall'. As none of these words seems to be a satisfactory translation (some temples had more than one Kondo and a Buddha statue is also placed in the pagoda in some cases), we shall retain the use of the Japanese word 'Kondo' in this thesis.

to all these temples. The disposition of individual temple buildings varied greatly with each temple, and the position of the pagoda was, in particular, the most variable factor in temple planning (for detailed discussion as to the change in status of the pagoda see 5.6). Although there are several temples which can be classified into groups⁵, it is difficult to see how one group of temples stylistically relates to another. Thus, up to the present day architectural historians have simply described the formal differences between temples, and no attempts have ever been made either to place these temples into systematic categories nor to explain the underlying reasons for the changes that occurred in the plans.

The aim of this thesis is primarily to trace the development of the major state temples built during the period between the end of the sixth century and the middle of the eighth century. The state temples can be loosely defined as Court-supported temples, and it was often the case that their construction was ordered by the emperor or the powerful political figure in the Court. We shall attempt to relate the changes that occurred in

5. Temples such as the First Horyu-ji, Tachibana-dera and Koryu-ji have plans identical to that of Shitenno-ji and are classified as the Shitenno-ji style temples. The plans of Daian-ji, Kofuku-ji and Todai-ji also are very similar.

the design of these temples during the period of our study. As can be seen in Fig. 1, between the sixth and eighth centuries Japanese state temple architecture experienced six major changes in style and overall layout.

The central concern of our argument is a consideration of the functional needs which found expression in these formal differences. These functional needs changed within these periods and had political, social and religious foundations. They were closely connected to the system of the Imperial government as this system developed and established itself during these centuries. As it is only the Second Horyu-ji that still preserves almost perfectly the architectural features of the Asuka-Nara era, our argument will naturally be centred on this temple. We shall, however, notice that the Second Horyu-ji itself was, in fact, built at a point which permits us to observe the movement towards the Horyu-ji conception and then to study the development away from it; it is the central architectural edifice in the early Buddhist period.

This thesis also attempts to analyse the uniquely Japanese features contained in the state temples of the Asuka-Nara era. As far as the form and style are concerned, most Japanese early Buddhist temples show the profound influence of Continental Buddhist architecture. For example, it is known that the Shitenno-ji style, in which the Kondo stood in front of the pagoda at the centre

of the cloister (see Fig. 1-b), came from Paekche, a kingdom in south-west Korea (Fukuyama, 1974, p.71), while the plan of Yakushi-ji, with a pair of pagodas, derived from the early Tang temple style (ibid, p.79). On the other hand, the plans of Kawahara-dera and the Second Horyu-ji are said to be original to Japan as there seems to have been no Continental temple which had a similar plan to these Japanese temples (Asano, 1977, p.31). It has not, however, been elucidated why such uniquely Japanese style temples as Kawahara-dera and the Second Horyu-ji appeared in the period between Shitenno-ji and Yakushi-ji, not to mention how they relate to each other.

In this thesis we shall study a historical context in which early Japanese Buddhism and Buddhist temples developed hand in hand with the expansion of Imperial power, and we shall argue that Japanese state Buddhist temples were built to meet particular requirements of the Imperial government. Normally the primary function of a Buddhist temple is to provide a place for the worship of Buddha. When Buddhism was adopted by the Japanese emperor, on the Continent it had already long been a popular religion of every social stratum, and a close examination of the plan of some of the Korean temples of the period of our study will lead us to assume that they fulfilled this original function which was that of a Buddhist temple.

We shall, however, see that this is not the case with the early Japanese temples; they served essentially as national monuments to demonstrate the power and prestige of the emperor and the Imperial system. Even in Asuka-dera, which was closely modelled on the Korean temple, the use of space seems to have been completely different from the original temple. Furthermore, we can find in Asuka-dera some imperial symbolism of the pre-Buddhist age.

In order to understand the fundamental nature of ancient Japanese national monuments, one needs to study Shinto symbolism and pre-Buddhist architectural concepts. In a word, all early Japanese, traditional, non-Buddhist, religious practices can be called Shinto. Shinto has no standard theory or scripture; it is rooted exclusively in localised animistic concepts. The underlying beliefs of Shintoism have no founder, no early organization and were arrived at collectively and followed instinctively by the common people (Kidder, 1972, p.34). Shinto embraced ways of exorcism, protection of life, crops, property and fertility, in other words with security and the good life in general (ibid, p.33). Characteristically it was totally oriented toward life, and anything deviating from it was regarded as repulsive pollution (ibid, p.17).

The most important architecture for us to study in order to gain an insight into the pre-Buddhist

symbolism and architectural tradition is the Ise Shrine. It is the top-ranking Shinto shrine dedicated to the Imperial ancestry. Although the present form of the Ise Shrine is believed to have been completed at the end of the seventh century (the same period as the Second Horyu-ji was constructed), the shrine itself is a harmonious welding-together of elements, formal and functional, which had their roots in much earlier centuries. The study of the origin and development of the Ise Shrine will reveal the way in which Shintoism affected Japanese Buddhism in architectural and other modes while the techniques of Buddhist temple design and construction influenced Shinto architecture.

1.3 Development of Imperial Systems in the Asuka-Nara era

The main reason why the early Japanese Buddhist temples from the sixth to the eighth century underwent a constant and rapid change in design is perhaps best summarised in the following two points.

- (1) The Asuka-Nara era was the period during which the emperor sought and eventually established his supremacy over the rest of the powerful clans in the Court. During that time Japan grew up from a tribal state to a united nation with a centralised government. The changes in temple design seem to have mirrored different requirements of the Imperial government at different stages of its development.

- (2) During the period between the sixth and eighth centuries Japan constantly received political and cultural impetus from the Continent. By the beginning of the seventh century highly-advanced Continental culture was introduced to Japan via Korea. However, with the collapse of the Paekche kingdom in the Korean peninsula at the end of the seventh century, Chinese culture was brought into Japan directly through the missions of monks, scholars and governmental officers dispatched regularly from Japan. The drastic change in the temple design of the seventh century may be attributable, to some extent, to this change from an indirect to a direct channel of information. The seventh century was also the period when China itself experienced political turmoil,⁶ and there were considerable differences of attitude toward Buddhism between the Chinese emperors (Murata, 1975, pp. 327-28).

It will be useful to give in this section a summary account of the development of the Imperial systems in the Asuka-Nara era, with particular reference to the political circumstances in which major state temples were constructed.

6. In 618 the Sui Dynasty collapsed and was taken over by the Tang Dynasty.

Buddhism originated in India around B.C.500 (Kamei et al., 1975, p.7), and it was introduced to China (the Later Han) at the beginning of the first century (Murata, 1975, p.284). By the end of the second century Buddhism had spread far and wide in China, and Buddha Halls and pagodas were extensively built both in the capital and provinces (Fukuyama, 1974, p.69). It was the Court of Kokuryo, the kingdom in the northern part of Korea that imported Buddhism first to the Korean peninsula in 372, and it is also known that at the beginning of the sixth century Buddhism was flourishing in both Silla, the kingdom in the south-east part of Korea, and Paekche, the kingdom in south-west Korea, which had particularly been in close contact with Japan (ibid. p.69).

In 538 the king of Paekche sent a mission to the Japanese Court and presented the emperor with Buddhist statues and scriptures (Kitayama, 1968, p.45). Before this first officially recorded contact between Buddhism and the Japanese Court, Buddhism had already been introduced to Japan by Korean immigrants, who first arrived in the country at the end of the fourth century. There was, however, a very small number of Japanese converts to Buddhism, and, as Kidder points out (1972, p.15), the presence of Buddhists in Japan had a negligible effect until the emperors themselves took a serious interest in it.

The Japanese Court which received the mission of Paekche was at Asuka and was governed by a number of powerful clans with Emperor Kimmei (531-72) as the central figure. The ancestor of the emperor was the Yamato clan, who had obtained the hegemony of the rest of the clans by about the middle of the fourth century (Inoue @ 1965, p.485). The dominant power of the Yamato conquerors was typically represented by the gigantic mound-tombs, which flourished during the fourth and fifth centuries (see details in 2.3).

Around the time when the Paekche mission came, Emperor Kimmei's coalition government had two main preoccupations: (1) to establish direct control of the government over the whole country and (2) to maintain the colony in Korea. Although the government expanded its control successfully by setting up the administrative centre called Miyake in the provinces (see details in 2.7), which helped to impair considerably the influence of the local lords, its relationship with Korea was strained.

Since the end of the third century, Korea had been divided into three conflicting kingdoms, Kokuryo, Silla and Paekche. Japan, after frequent military intervention in the strife between these three countries, eventually defeated the army of Silla in 369 and occupied the southernmost part of Korea, Mimana (Kamei et al, 1975, p.11). After this victory Japan exercised a dominant influence over Paekche and Silla. However at the end of

the fifth century, Silla became defiant to the Japanese Court, while Paekche invaded Mimana (Naoki, 1965, p.16). Diplomatic relations between Japan and China had been severed since 478.

In fact, the Buddhist articles presented from Paekche accompanied a request for more military aid against Silla. In 553 Japan dispatched the army to Korea to support Paekche, but it was completely defeated by Silla, which occupied Mimana. The Japanese Imperial army was forced to withdraw in 562 (Kitayama, 1968, p.53).

The official introduction of Buddhism stirred up the long-smouldering confrontation between Mononobe and Soga, two leading clans in the Court. Soga-no-Iname, the then head of the Soga family was a progressive pro-foreign Minister of Finance, while Mononobe-no-Moriya, the patriarch of the Mononobe family was a conservative Shintoist responsible for military and security police (Naoki, 1965, pp.26-7). The Imperial Court was eventually divided into two factions: the Buddhist supporting group headed by the Soga family and the anti-Buddhist group led by the Mononobe family. Concerned about the bitter antagonism between the two groups, Emperor Kimmei decided to give the Buddhist articles presented from Paekche to Soga-no-Iname and to postpone the issue of the adoption of Buddhism for a while (Kitayama, 1968, p.48).

Soga-no-Iname made Buddhism his family religion and started Buddhist activities, which sharpened the

conflict with the Mononobes. After the death of Emperor Yomei (585-87), the sickly successor of Kimmei, the Soga clan and the Mononobe clan supported different princes for the throne, and finally a battle broke out in 587. The final victory fell to the Buddhist supporters, which led to the establishment of the Soga's prominent position in the Imperial Court (Naoki, 1965, p.39). After the battle, Emperor Sushun (587-92), nephew of Soga-no-Umako, who was the then head of the Soga family, was enthroned. Under the new emperor the Buddhists obtained a secure ground for their activities and the construction of Buddhist temples was officially approved. In 558 Soga-no-Umako launched into the building of the first full-scale Buddhist temple, Asuka-dera.

Although the Sogas maintained a close relationship with the Imperial House by marrying their daughters to the emperors, their political ambition did not always fit in with the intention of the emperors. The ultimate aim of the Imperial House was to establish an absolute monarchy, while the Sogas tried to control the government, setting up the emperor as a nominal ruler. Thus, although the emperor and the Sogas collaborated to consolidate the power of the Imperial government, they contended for supremacy within the Court (Naoki, 1965, p.21). From the end of the sixth century to the middle of the seventh century the power of the emperor and that of the Sogas were held somehow in balance, and the Imperial government

tried to enhance its prestige by vigorously adopting the best legal, political and cultural systems then known in Asia.

In 592 Empress Suiko (592-628) ascended to the throne, and she took the reins of the government aided by her uncle Soga-no-Umako and Prince Shotoku, who had been appointed as regent and heir apparent. In 594 the Imperial government officially accepted Buddhism as the national religion (Kitayama, 1968, p.97). It was Prince Shotoku particularly who devoted considerable efforts to expand Buddhism from the family religion of a limited number of people at the Court to the national religion. He constructed many temples including Shitenno-ji, the First Horyu-ji and Koryu-ji, in places other than Asuka, the stronghold of the Soga clan. Given great encouragement by the Imperial government, Buddhism grew rapidly and the Nihon Shoki records that in 624 there were 46 Buddhist temples, 816 monks and 569 nuns (Kodama et al, 1971, p.3).

It was under the reign of Emperor Jomei (628-41), who succeeded Suiko, that the emperor himself first ordered the construction of a Buddhist temple. The temple was called Kudara-dai-ji (later rebuilt as Daian-ji). After Jomei's death his consort Empress Kogyoku (641-45) was enthroned, but about this time the Sogas took a defiant attitude toward the empress, which provoked strong hostility among the Imperial families

and other governmental officials (Naoki, 1965, pp.159-64).

In 645 Prince Nakano-o-e (the eldest son of Jomei and Kogyoku) and Kamatari Fujiwara, the intellectual from a traditional Shitoist family, carried out a coup d'état against the Sogas. The coup was successful and resulted in the Taika Reform. The drastic changes in the various systems were promulgated in written form known as the Taika edicts (645), by which the framework of the Japanese state was recast on a Chinese (Tang Dynasty) model (Naoki, 1965, p.179). They regulated taxes, set up land allotment methods and established the census. The most revolutionary change, however, was brought about through the nationalization of all lands and slaves owned by the provincial clans. In return for the presentation of his land and slaves to the emperor, the head of a clan was given a rank and absorbed into the Imperial bureaucratic system as a local administrative officer, appointed by the emperor (ibid, pp. 194-97). In 646 one hundred ranks of governmental officers were set up.

By way of this epoch-making Taika Reform, the expansion and centralization of the emperor's power was achieved. The death of Soga-no-Emishi and Iruka (the son and grandson of Umako) impaired considerably the influence of not only the Soga family but also of other clans ranked high in the Court. Governmental systems were modernised following the Chinese example, and the heir prince came to assume more power than the high-ranking

ministers, so that the Imperial House acquired a dominant position in the Court (Naoki, 1965, p.178).

While the new government brought radical reforms into effect, the situation in the Korean peninsula was growing tense; Silla, supported by China, invaded Kokuryo and Paekche. In response to the frequent requests from Paekche, Japan dispatched in 661 vast forces to the peninsula to confront the allied forces of Silla and China (Kitayama, 1968, p.226). In the crucial battle of 663, however, Japan suffered a disastrous defeat, and the kingdom of Paekche collapsed. This put to an end to Japan's aggressive policy toward Korea, which had continued since the end of the fourth century. Japan had to abandon all her interests and privileges in Korea, which was eventually united by Silla in 735.

With the establishment of a centralised power, it became possible to gather provincial labour forces and construction materials to the capital according to Imperial demand. Therefore, the emperors from the mid-seventh to the eighth century were actively involved in building temples, palaces and other public construction works to flaunt their authority and power. During the period between 661-667 Kawahara-dera was erected (Fukuyama, 1974, p.75) while the Second Horyu-ji was completed around 708 (NRTK, 1970 (b), p.10).

After the death of Emperor Tenchi (former Prince Nakano-o-e) his brother Temmu (673-86) came to the throne having defeated Prince Otomo, his rival for the succession, in the Jinshin Civil War. It was under the reign of Temmu and his consort Empress Jito (686-97), who succeeded him, that the political system, based on the Taika Reform, was firmly established. The traditionally powerful clans disappeared from most of the important governmental positions and the members of the Imperial House came to be more involved in the administration of the Court (Naoki, 1965, pp. 346-7). The long-desired end of the Imperial House was finally accomplished; the emperor became the absolute monarch. By confiscating the arms from the local lords, Temmu strengthened the military power of the Imperial government (ibid, p.350). On the other hand, he standardised the ceremonies of the Court and tried to maintain social order and stability through the encouragement of music and ceremonies (Aoki, 1965, p.338).

It was natural therefore, that Temmu desired the architecture of his period should accommodate elaborate ceremonies (Kidder, 1972, p.19). While he directed in 683 the repair and remodelling work of the main Shinto shrines throughout the country (Naoki, 1965, p.360), the emperor ordered the construction of Yakushi-ji and the re-building of Daian-ji (ibid, p.359). In 689 the Asuka-no-Kiyomigahara-ryo, the first Japanese code

of laws, was established (ibid, p.390). In 694 a new capital Fujiwara-kyo was constructed, and Asuka-dera, Kawahara-dera, Daian-ji and Yakushi-ji, which figured frequently in the activities of the Court, were called the Four Great Temples of Fujiwara-kyo.

The Imperial system attained prosperity, and in 701 the Taiho Civil and Penal Codes were promulgated. This became the established Nara legal system, and a stable base for a Japanese society.⁷ In 710 the capital was transferred to Heijo-kyo (Nara). Following the move of the capital, both Yakushi-ji and Daian-ji were also transferred to the new capital. The name of Ganko-ji (another name for Asuka-dera, see 3.1) was given to the new temple built in Heijo-kyo in 718. Instead of Kawahara-dera, which remained in Asuka, Kofuku-ji joined the three above-mentioned temples and constituted the Four Great Temples of Heijo-kyo.

In the eighth century the absolute status of the emperor established by Temmu was maintained somehow by his successors, and there was a substantial increase in the nation's wealth (Tanabe, 1974, p.130). On the other hand, the Imperial systems were beginning to show disquieting symptoms: discontent of the lower-classes

7. On the whole the system was in force until modern times (Kidder, 1972, p.20).

with the severe tax and administration, frequent rebellions in the Tohoku (the northernmost part of Honshu) and Satsuma (the southernmost part of Kyushu) regions, which had recently come under the government's control, and the power struggle among the high officials of the Court (Aoki, 1965, pp. 127-28, pp. 258-72).

Emperor Shomu (724-49), under whose reign the Imperial system appeared to have reached its height of prosperity, was an ardent Buddhist and culturally-minded monarch. Unlike Temmu, his great-grandfather, Shomu was, however, not able to exercise powerful leadership. In 740 Hirotsugu Fujiwara, nephew of the empress, raised a rebellion against the Imperial Court (Aoki, 1965, p. 322). While the Imperial troops were fighting with the rebel army, the disheartened emperor left Heijo-kyo and frequently changed his residence. Although the rebellion was speedily put down, Shomu moved the capital to Kuni near Kyoto in 741, then to Naniwa in Osaka in 744 and finally to Heijo-kyo again in 745 (ibid. pp. 330-35).

It was during this period of political instability that Shomu issued an edict requiring every province to erect a temple with a seven storey pagoda and ordered the construction of an immense temple, Todai-ji in the capital. Millions of workmen worked for a period of about twenty years, and the completion of the Great Buddha statue and the Kondo of Todai-ji was

celebrated in 752 with unprecedented pomp and splendour.

1.4 Outline of the thesis

Finally, it will be necessary to mention the structure of this thesis. The whole thesis consists of seven chapters. In Chapter 2, which follows this introductory chapter, we shall study major architectural concepts of Japanese pre-Buddhist periods, concentrating upon the Ise Shrine. As Soper (1955, p.160) points out, pre-Buddhist architectural forms contain in embryo many of the basic preferences of mature Japanese architecture. In order to understand the nature and function of the early state temples, we need to study the spiritual as well as political climate to which the Continental culture and technology were transplanted.

Our procedure is to look in some detail at the various pre-Ise monuments and their artifacts - both in isolation and as they may relate to each other. We shall see that what appear initially to be quite separate phenomena have a number of inter-connections, and that if we look at the Ise Shrine as a culmination of the growing inter-relationship of these phenomena, we shall find that at Ise they indeed all took their place in the total conception. By means of tracing the function of the various formal devices which came together at Ise, we can have a better idea of what their function at Ise is likely to have been. Through the study of the Ise Shrine we shall

also see the way in which Buddhist architecture and Shinto architecture inter-related and, to an extent, cross-fertilised each other after Buddhism arrived in Japan. Shinto architecture introduced into Buddhist temples the notion of hierarchy while Buddhist architecture affected the design of the Shinto shrines.

In Chapter 3 we shall begin to trace the development of the early Buddhist temples with the study of Asuka-dera built in 588. As Asuka-dera was the first full-scale Buddhist temple in Japan, although it appears to have been closely modelled on the Korean temple, it still clearly preserves a number of Shinto features discussed in Chapter 2. We shall mainly consider the specific Japanese element to be found amongst the predominantly Korean features and the uniquely Japanese use to which the Korean forms are put.

In Chapter 4 we shall discuss the significance of the Shitenno-ji style temples, with particular reference to Shitenno-ji, the First Horyu-ji, Tachibana-dera and Koryu-ji, four major temples built by Prince Shotoku. At first an attempt will be made to give a historical explanation of why this particular temple style was extensively adopted by the Imperial government at the beginning of the seventh century. Our argument will then develop to deal with the question of what ideas and concepts the Shitenno-ji style temples manifested and what architectural devices were employed to represent these

notions. We shall see that the design of this temple style is closely related to the notion of national defence, which seems to have been already expressed by the four gates of Asuka-dera and which will be also further developed during the eighth century typically in Todai-ji and the Provincial Temples.

Chapter 5 provides an analysis and assessment of the Second Horyu-ji. Together with the Ise Shrine, the Second Horyu-ji is generally regarded as a most sophisticated architectural conception which was never eclipsed in Japanese history. In this chapter we shall closely examine how the visual aesthetic effect is achieved in the external appearance of the temple complex as a whole. A consideration of the external panoramic setting will be fully discussed with particular reference to the choice of the site and the roof lines. Although the Second Horyu-ji seems to have been akin to the Shitenno-ji style temples in terms of the design of each constituent building, its layout marks a transition from the Shitenno-ji style to later temples. This is typically seen in the greater prominence given to the Kondo. A detailed analysis will be made of the Kondo (in comparison with that of the First Horyu-ji) and the pagoda (in comparison with that of Yakushi-ji).

Chapter 6 looks at the development of the post-Horyu-ji (Second) temples built from the end of the seventh century to the middle of the eighth century. A drastic

change occurred in temple design between the Second Horyu-ji and Yakushi-ji, and Asano (1977, p.28) even says that in the temples following the Second Horyu-ji there is little sign which is indicative of the continuity of development from the Second Horyu-ji.

In this chapter we shall argue that the post-Horyu-ji temples such as Yakushi-ji, Daian-ji and Kofuku-ji were constructed on a principle of design which was entirely different from that of the earlier temples, in order to meet a new requirement of the period, when music and ceremonies were greatly encouraged by the Imperial government. The temples came to fulfil a practical function of accommodating national ceremonies. Furthermore, both the literary account and the architectural details will reveal that some of the distinctive features of the post-Horyu-ji temples were already possessed by Kawahara-dera built before the Second Horyu-ji.

We shall close the chapter with the discussion of the significance of Todai-ji, the greatest monumental architecture of the Nara period, in which the main consideration was given to provide the maximum space for national ceremonies. The final conclusions drawn from this research will be offered in the last chapter.

CHAPTER 2

ARCHITECTURAL FORMS OF THE PRE-BUDDHIST AGE

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2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we shall take a general view of the architectural forms which existed in Japan in its pre-Buddhist age, namely in the period before 588 when Asuka-dera, the first full-scale Japanese Buddhist temple was erected. Unfortunately, there is no existing building that dates from the pre-Buddhist age and preserves exclusively the architectural tradition of that period. This is also true of Shinto shrines, which are normally closely associated with the pre-Buddhist tradition. None of the existing Shinto buildings is more than a few centuries old. As Soper (1955, p.163) points out, however, it is also clear that a number of the most famous shrines have kept architectural features of an extreme archaism through their various rebuildings. The Ise Shrine, which enshrines the Imperial ancestry, is the most well-known among such shrines as a perfect example of the pre-Buddhist architectural form.

Although several architectural critics (e.g. Ito, 1967, p.31) have recognised the Chinese influence on one of the decorative elements¹ of Ise's main sanctuary

1. Multi-coloured metal ornaments called hoju on the veranda railings of the two main sanctuaries (see Fig. 2.)

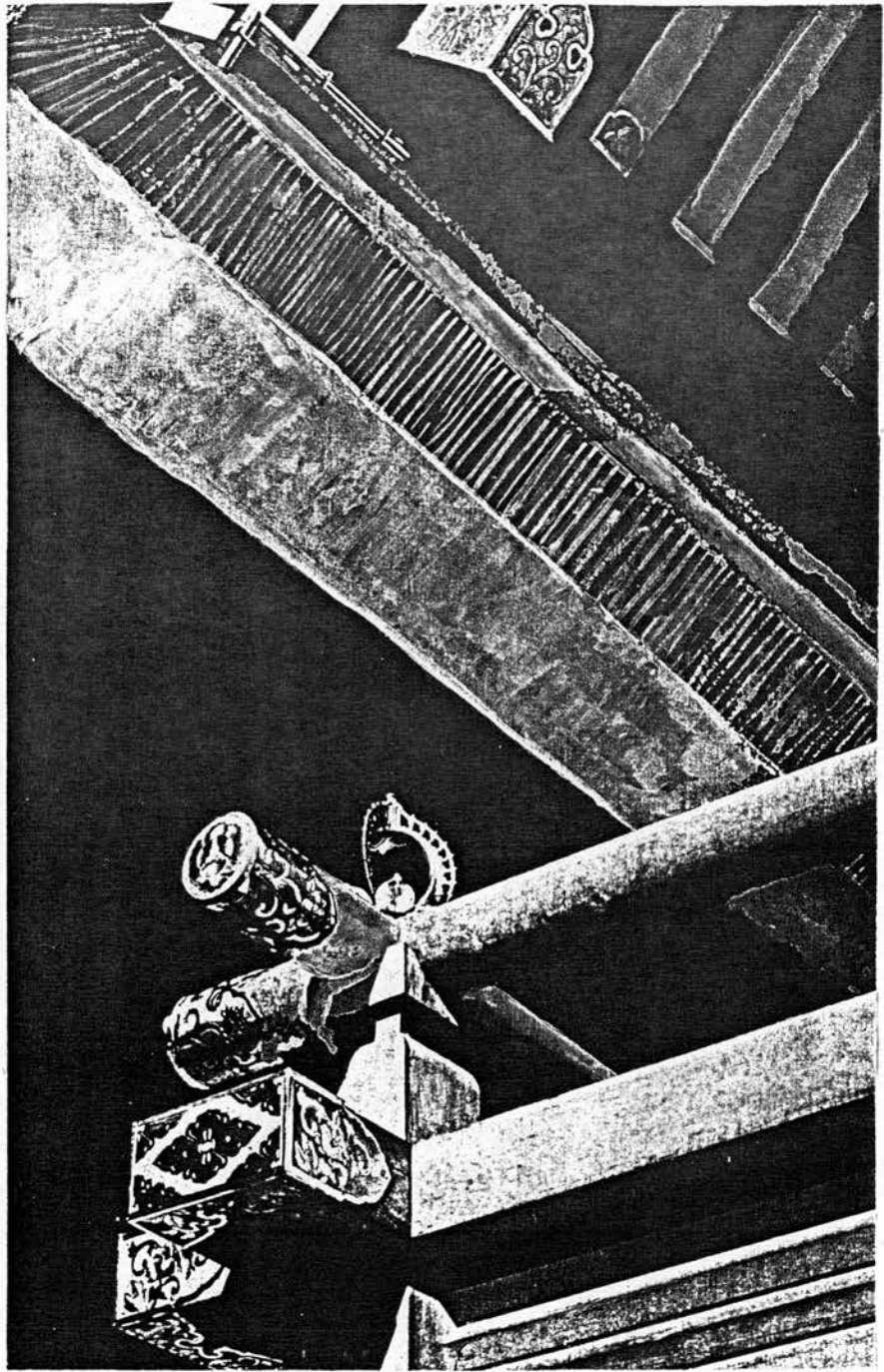


Fig.2 Hoju of the veranda of Ise Naiku Main Sanctuary
(Tange, 1965, p. 111)

(see also 2.9), the traditional view of the Ise Shrine is still typically expressed in Sekino's remark that

'the style and structure of the Ise Shrine, on which the imported Continental advanced techniques had no influence, are simple and primitive, retaining the ancient architectural style intact' (quoted in Tanaka, 1975, p.107).

As we shall see later in 2.9, the influence of the techniques employed in the early Buddhist temple architecture is marked on the present form of the Ise main sanctuaries, but it would be also true that the pre-Buddhist tradition is preserved best in the Ise Shrine among the existing Shinto buildings.

According to the Nihon Shoki,² the origins of the Ise Shrine as the shrine dedicated to Amaterasu-Omikami (Heaven-Illuminating Goddess), legendary ancestress of the Imperial House, dates from the reign of the eleventh emperor, Suinin (249-280?). It seems, however, to be during the reign of Emperor Temmu (672-86) that the Ise Shrine established its position as an important national institution (see details in 2.9). The present form of the Ise Shrine is believed to have been completed in 685, when the practice of rebuilding the Naiku (Inner Shrine), the Geku (Outer Shrine) and other buildings (see the buildings printed in black in Fig.3 and Fig. 4) every twenty years was established (Tanaka, 1975, p.107). Apart from the interruption from the end of the 15th to the mid-16th century³ due to the civil war, this practice has

2. The Chronicles of Japan, an eighth century compilation that terminates in the year 697 (see also Footnote 9).

3. The rebuilding of the Naiku was interrupted from 1462 to 1585 and that of the Geku from 1434 and 1563 (Kodama et al., 1962, p.37).

Plan of the Naiku

The buildings and structures printed in black are rebuilt every twenty years.

- 1 Main Sanctuary
- 2 Geheiden ("Treasure Hall")
- 3 Mishine-no-Mikura ("Rice Storehouse")
- 4 Site for worshipping the Aramatsuri Shrine from afar
- 5 Purification site
- 6 Imibiyaden ("Sacred Kitchen")
- 7 Storehouse for ceremonial utensils
- 8 Subsidiary shrine (rocks): Miyanomeguri-no-kami
- 9 Gojoden (a hall for lesser ceremonies)
- 10 Yuki-no-Mikura (a storehouse)
- 11 Misakadono ("Rice Wine Storehouse")
- 12 Kaguraden (a hall for ritual dances)
- 13 Inner stable
- 14 Outer stable
- 15 Resting place for the Emperor on visits to the Shrine
- 16 Purification hall
- 17 Subsidiary shrine (rocks): Takimatsuri-no-kami
- 18 Basin with water for purification
- 19 Dining hall
- 20 Noh stage
- 21 Headquarters of guard force

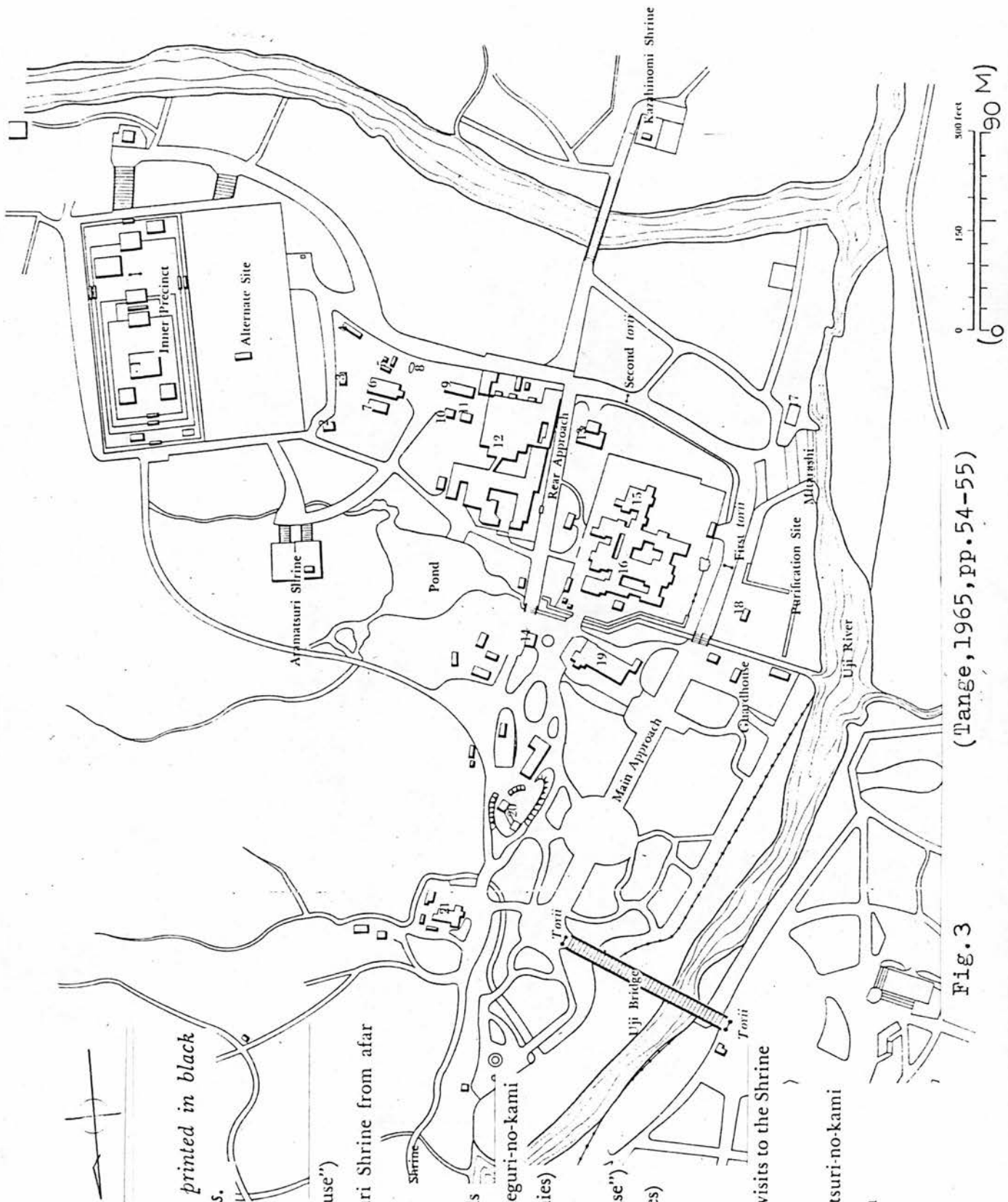


Fig. 3

(Tange, 1965, pp. 54-55)

Plan of the Geku

The buildings and structures printed in black are rebuilt every twenty years.

1 Main Sanctuary

2 Geheiden ("Treasure Hall")

3 Mikeden ("Hall of Daily Offering")

4 Imibiyaden ("Sacred Kitchen")

5 Misakadono ("Rice Wine Storehouse")

6 Subsidiary shrine (rocks): Miyanomeguri-no-kami

7 Kujoden (a hall for lesser ceremonies)

8 Gojoden (a hall for lesser ceremonies)

9 Kaguraden (a hall for ritual dance)

10 Resting place for the Emperor on visits to the Shrine

11 Purification hall

12 Storehouses

13 Basin with water for purification

14 Headquarters of guard force

15 Affiliated shrines

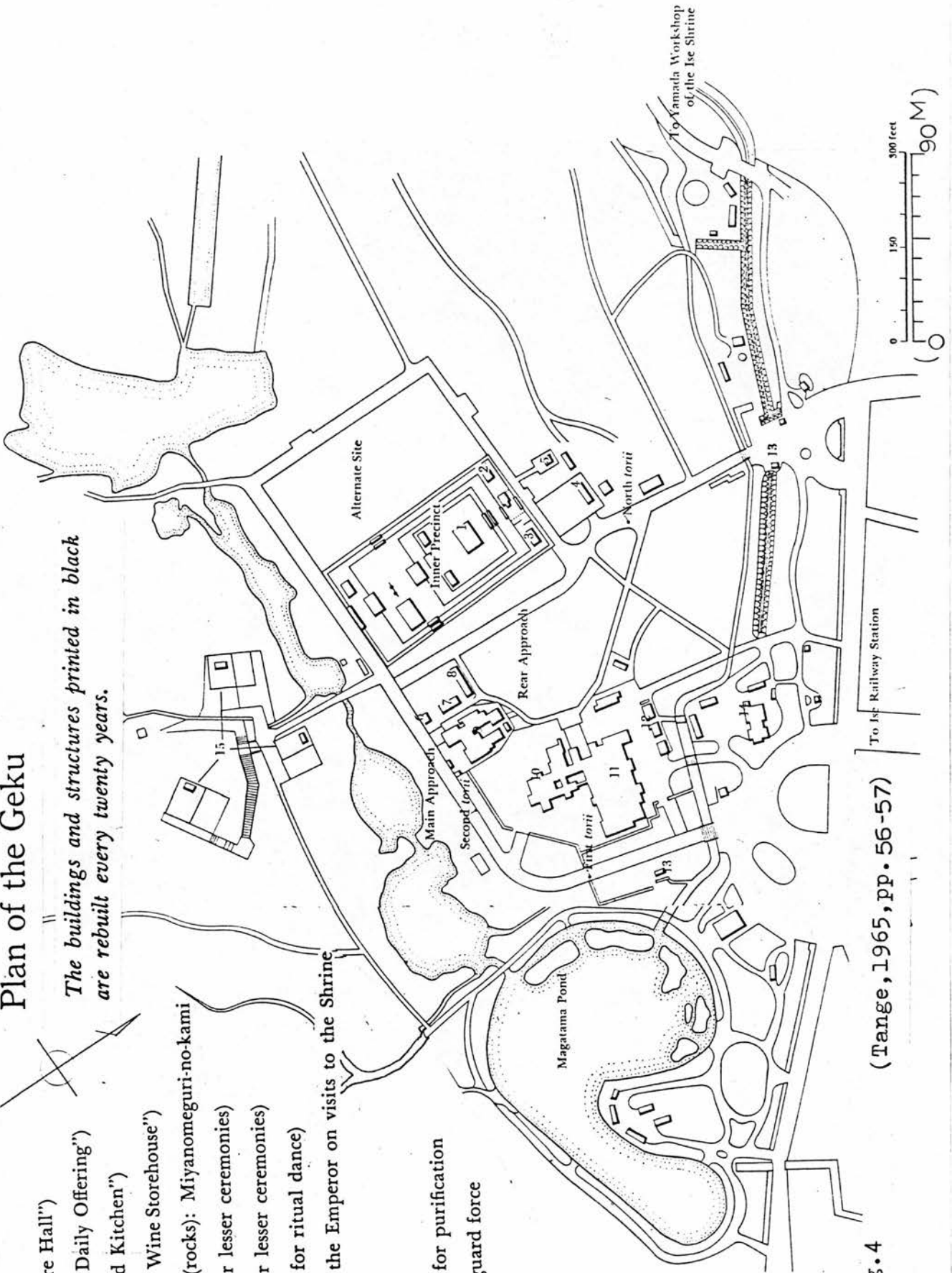


Fig. 4

(Tange, 1965, pp. 56-57)

been faithfully observed, and the present Ise Shrine was built in 1974 (the 60th re-building). According to Fukuyama's researches, it is only from the eighth to the beginning of the ninth century that any concrete information about the architecture of the Ise buildings can be obtained from such sources as the Enryaku Gishiki-cho⁴ and the Engishiki;⁵ the form of the two main sanctuaries is believed to have undergone practically no major changes since then⁶ (Fukuyama, quoted by Tanaka, 1975, p.47).

The Ise Shrine stands by the banks of the Isuzu River, amid dense forests at the foot of Mount Kamiji and Mount Shimaji of Ise city in the eastern-central part of Japan. There are two main sanctuaries, Naiku (Inner Shrine) and Geku (Outer Shrine); the former dedicated to the worship of Amaterasu-Omikami, Sun Goddess and legendary Imperial ancestress and the latter enshrines Toyouke-Omikami, Goddess of Cereals.

-
4. A report prepared by the Ise Shrine in 804 in accordance with the request of the Imperial Court, in which detailed account is given of the history, architecture, finance, administration and annual events of the Ise Shrine.
 5. 50 volumes of regulations of the Court and ceremonies carried out at the end of the eighth century. Completed in 927.
 6. Still, several minor changes in the details of the building have been pointed out. For example, there were fewer metal ornaments in earlier times, while the structure of the veranda railings was more complicated in the eighth century (Kodama et al., 1962, p.38).

Fig. 5 and Fig. 6 show the plans of these two shrines, which are almost identical. In the Naiku there is the main sanctuary at the centre, flanked by the East and West Treasure Houses at the rear. These three buildings are protected by four wooden fences, one of which does not completely enclose the shrine. The access of the public is allowed only up to the south gateway of the second fence. There are two alternately used enclosures, side by side. At the end of each cycle of twenty years a new group of buildings is set up to match the one in use. In the Geku the two Treasure Houses stand in front of the main sanctuary while the Mikeden (Hall of Daily Offering) and the Geheiden (Treasure Hall) are at the rear between the third and the outermost fences.

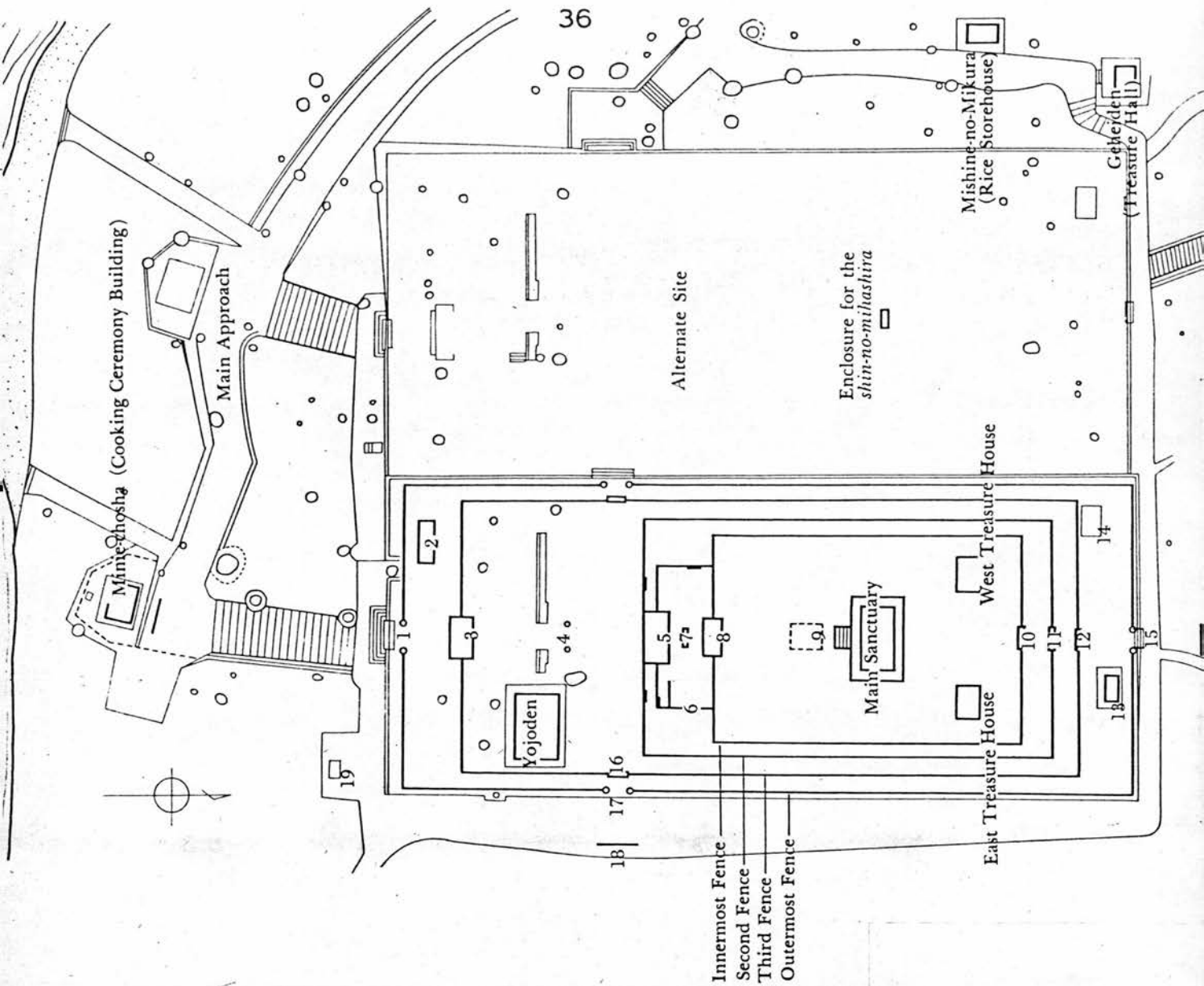
The buildings of the Ise Shrine are in the Shimmei style, which is characterised by several architectural features. The roof, which is straight, thatched and gabled, has the chigi (the continuation of crossed gable-end boards forming V-shaped projections above the ridge, see Fig. 7) and the Katsuogi (tapered wood cylinders set crosswise along the ridge, see Fig. 7) on it. The pillars, which have no foundations, are driven directly into the ground. At each gable end there is a pillar called munamochi bashira (ridge-supporting post) standing clear of the main building (see Fig. 8). A special name, Yuiitsu (= unique) Shimmei style, is given to the form of the two main sanctuaries, Naiku and Geku,

- 1 South *torii* of the outermost fence
- 2 South guardhouse
- 3 South gateway of the second fence
- 4 Middle *torii*
- 5 South gateway of the third fence
- 6 Ban-gaki fence
- 7 Ban-gaki gate
- 8 South gateway of the innermost fence
- 9 Porch over the entry to the Main Sanctuary
- 10 North gateway of the innermost fence
- 11 North gateway of the third fence
- 12 North gateway of the second fence
- 13 North guardhouse
- 14 Subsidiary shrines (rocks): Okitama-no-kami and Miyabi-no-kami
- 15 North *torii* of the outermost fence
- 16 Side gates of the second fence
- 17 Side *torii* of the outermost fence
- 18 Guard fences
- 19 Subsidiary shrine (rocks): Yanohaniki-no-kami

The buildings and structures printed in black are rebuilt every twenty years.



Fig. 5 Detailed plan of the Naiku
(Tange, 1965, p.124)



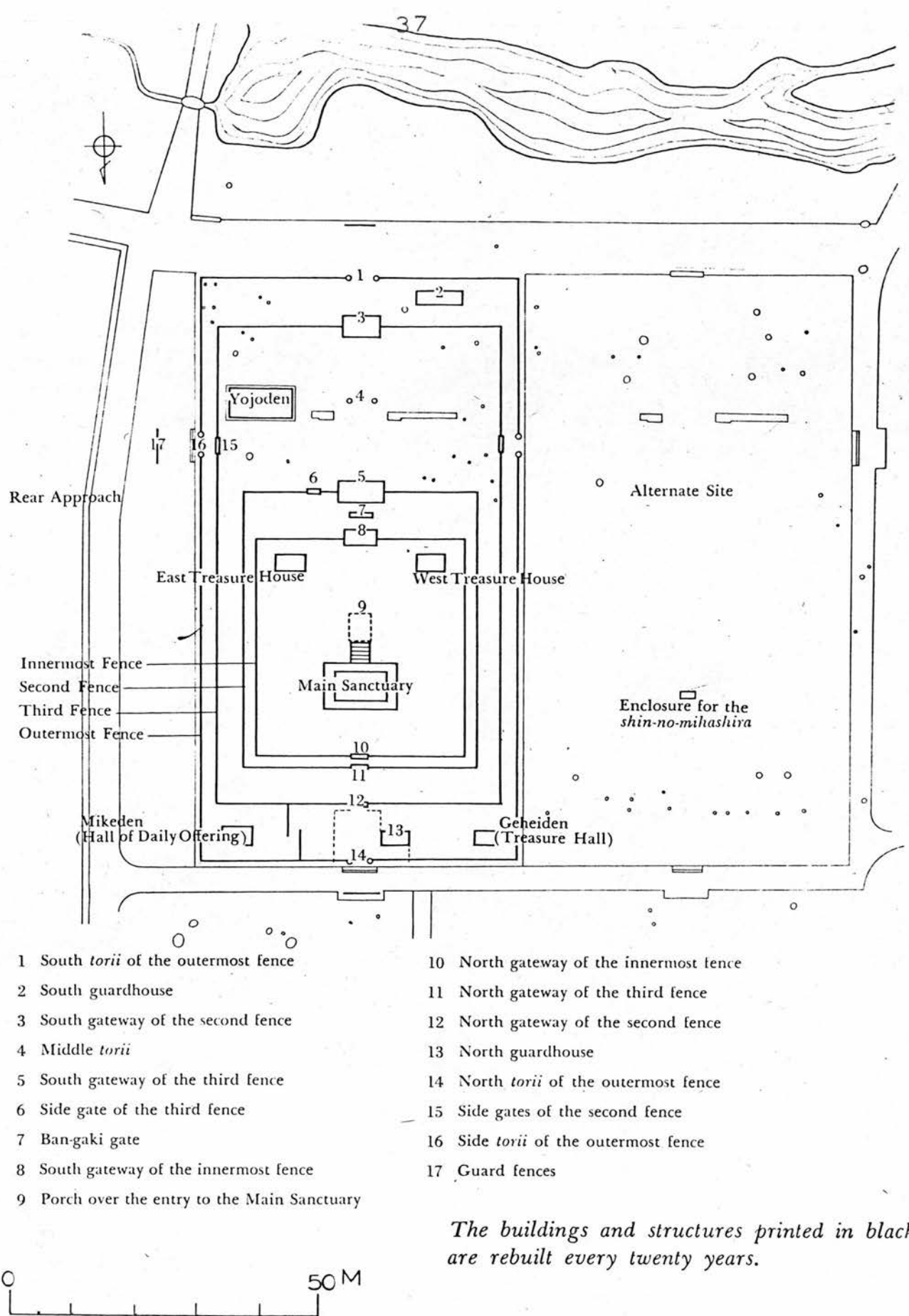
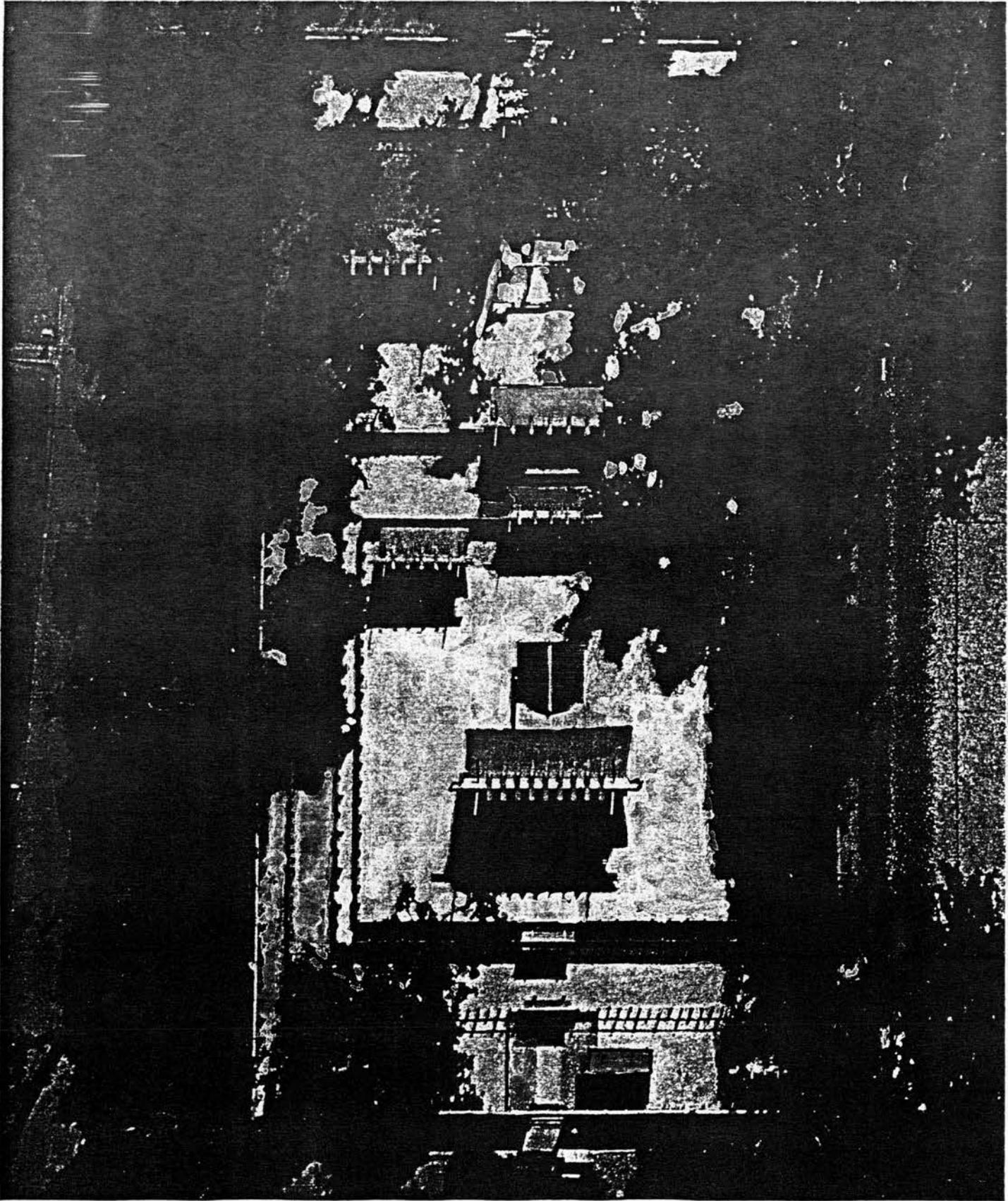
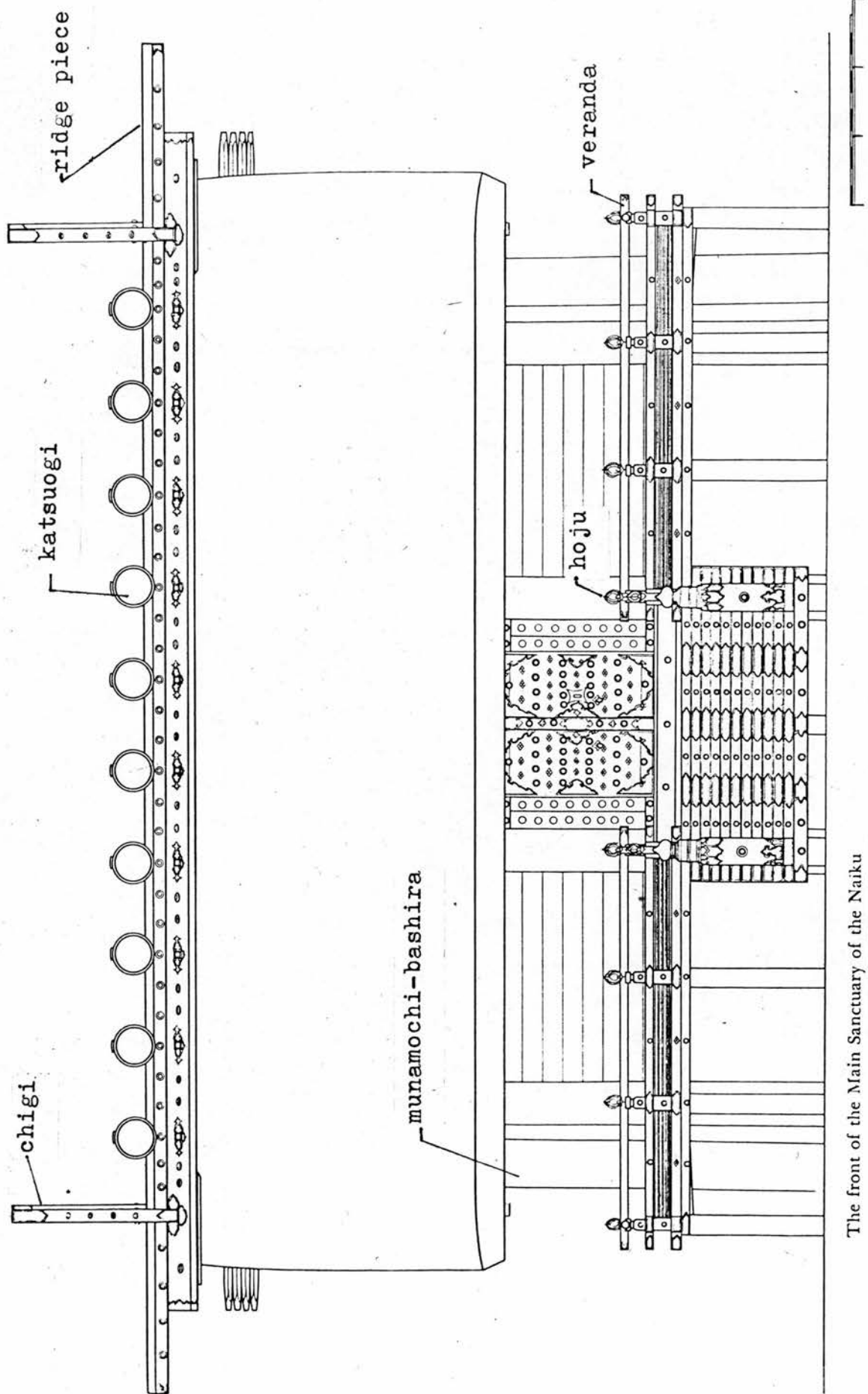


Fig.6 (a) Detailed plan of the Geku
(Tange, 1965, p.129)



An aerial photograph looking straight down on the inner precinct and the fences

Fig.6(b) An aerial photograph looking straight down on the Geku (Tange,1965,p.128)



The front of the Main Sanctuary of the Naiku

Fig.7 (Tange, 1965, p.108)



Fig.8 The munamochi-bashira in the Naiku main sanctuary
(Drexler, 1955 , p.30)

which can be distinguished from the Shimmei style by the veranda and railing around these two structures and the shin-no-mihashira (sacred central post), which is the symbol of the divine presence. The shin-no-mihashira is said to be a post of plain wood about seven feet in length, the lower half buried in the ground and the upper standing free, not touching the floor above (Tange, 1965, p.42). This pillar cannot be seen because of the protective wooden fence which covers the whole of it.

The Ise Shrine normally means the above-mentioned two main sanctuaries, to which people make a pilgrimage, but it should be noted that apart from the Naiku and Geku, there are fourteen other major and 109 minor subsidiary shrines, which constitute the whole shrine. These shrines are widely distributed over three cities and three districts⁷ of the Mie Prefecture (Kodama et al., 1962, p.37). The deities worshipped in most of these shrines have some relation to nature and cultivation. There are deities connected with water, wells, rivers, pools and waterfalls, with the sea (inlets, waves, ships), with agriculture (the soil, the plains, reeds, rice plants) and natural phenomena like the wind. Many of the minor shrines have no sanctuary building; some of them actually continue to this day to be simply iwakura, rocks and stones

7. cities: Ise, Matsuzaka, Toba
districts: Doai, Taki, Shima

venerated as abodes of deities (see Fig. 9). We also find rocks symbolically enshrined under the floor of sanctuaries, or shrines which do have buildings but of which the holy objects are stones. All this seems to suggest the evolution from mere iwakura to shrines with a sanctuary building.

In a word, the Ise Shrine consists of the Naiku dedicated to the worship of the Sun Goddess, symbol of the Imperial ancestry and other shrines enshrining deities related to agriculture.⁸ In fact, many historians (e.g. Naoki, 1965, p.355) believe that before the Yamato clan (from which the Imperial House is believed to have descended) enshrined their guardian Sun Goddess at Ise, the Ise region had its own agricultural deities and that the worship of the sky god and the earth gods were integrated into one in the Ise Shrine. In this sense, Ise incorporates a distinct symbolism of ancient times, and Tange seems to be right in saying that

Ise came into being through the sublimation of symbols into a basic form' (1965, p.19).

In the following sections we shall study the origins and constituent elements of these symbols.

8. It is believed that Toyouke, Goddess of Cereals enshrined in the Geku was originally the earth deity of the Ise region (Tange, 1965, p.43).

A rock group symbolizing the guardian deity Miya-no-meguri-no-kami; it is beside the path between the "Second torii" and the inner precinct

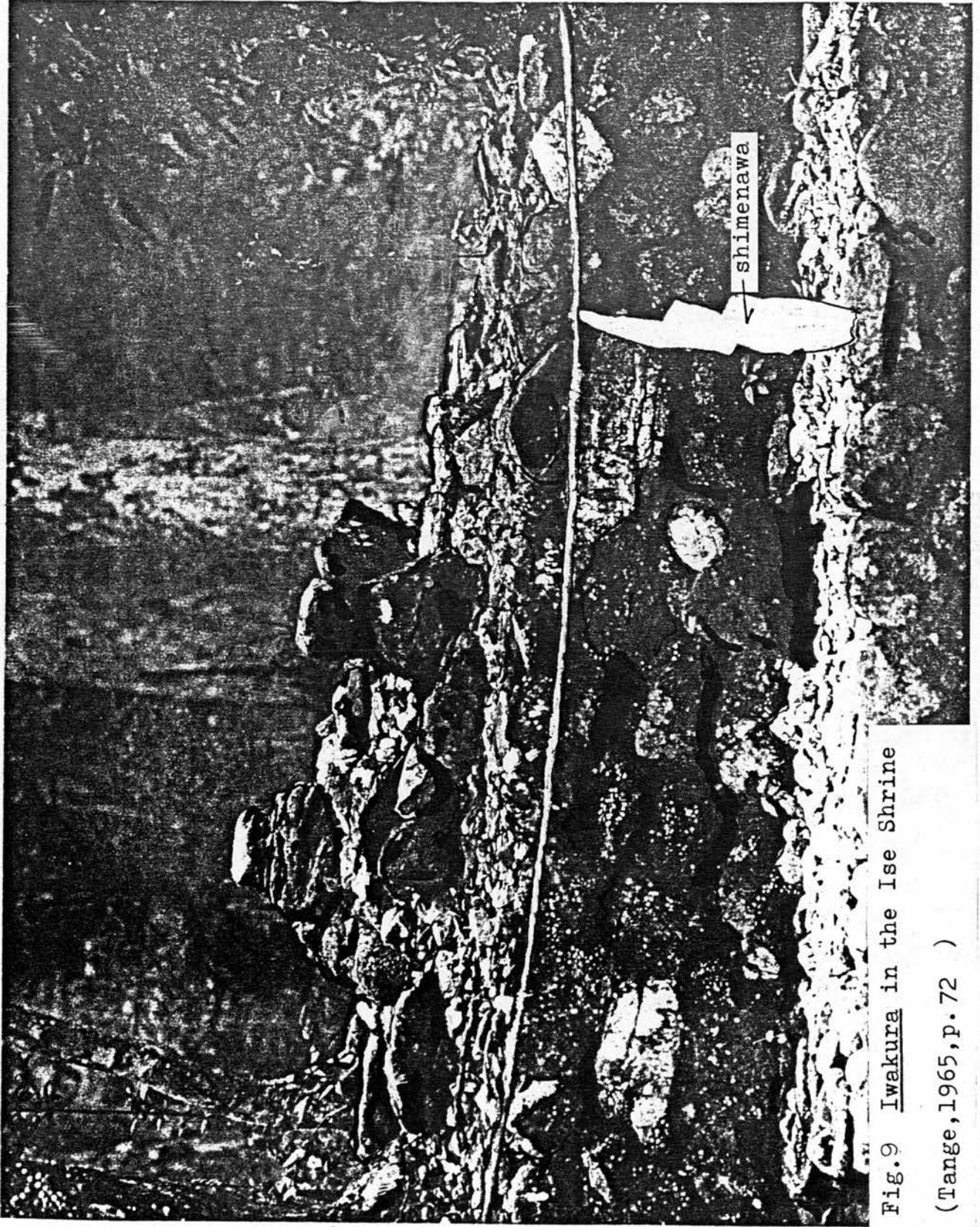


Fig.9 Iwakura in the Ise Shrine

(Tange, 1965, p. 72)

2.2 Two types of boundary

We do not know exactly when nature worship came to take some tangible shape, but it would be around B.C. 300, when the Japanese started to cultivate rice, that they became acquainted with the mysterious power of the earth. The animistic outlook manifested itself in the idea of an earth-mother deity, and the ancient Japanese sought their symbols and divine images in nature - in rocks, trees, and water. It is said that, from about this time, date the clay masks and figures called dogu that have been dug up in various parts of Japan (Inoue, © 1965, p.146). They appear to have represented mainly earth spirits symbolising the ripening of the crops or of the earth-mother deity sleeping in the soil.

We have already noted in the previous section that some of Ise's subsidiary shrines are mere iwakura, rocks and stones in which it was believed deities dwelled, but in fact, many Shinto shrines in Japan have no sanctuary building. The Omiwa Shrine in Nara Prefecture is well-known as one such shrine; it is Mount Miwa itself to which homage is paid. Other examples are the Isonokami Shrine at Tenri city in Nara and the Suwa Shrine at Suwa city in Nagano. Although both shrines now have a main sanctuary, it is known that what was originally worshipped as an abode of a deity was in the former a specifically marked ground and in the latter a fir tree (Hayashiya, 1970, pp.28-29). In Japanese the word for 'shrine' means

a special space dedicated to the worship of a god or a sanctuary building (Kodama et al., 1962, p.234), though in its modern usage it mainly means the latter.

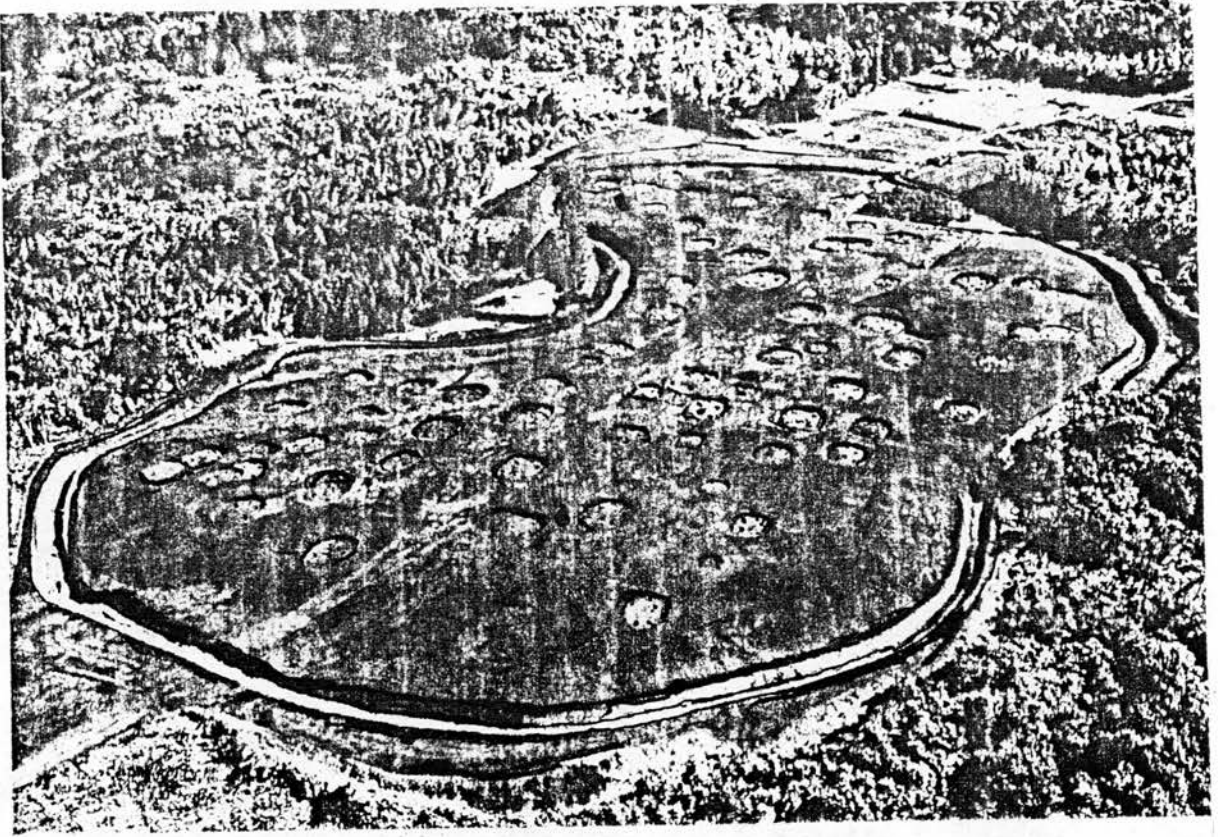
It seems to be natural that a holy object or space symbolising the presence of a god came to be encircled with some sort of boundary to mark and preserve its sacredness. Iwasaka (iwa = rock, saka = boundary) is the name given to a sacred site marked by a border of rocks or stones. The iwasaka often included iwakura (Tange, 1965, p.33). There is another space of a similar nature called shinchi (shin = god, chi = ground). The shinchi is generally an area larger than iwasaka, and it is square and covered with pebbles. The shinchi, which does not include a holy object, was itself venerated as a dwelling-place of a god. The origin of the present Isonokami Shrine was a shinchi. There are other various ways of symbolising a holy space, and shimenawa (rice straw ropes) are known to have been used from a very early period to delimit areas which signified the space occupied by the deities and not to be approached by the people. In the Ise Shrine, for example, shimenawa can be found around a rock group symbolising the guardian deity of the whole shrine, Miya-no-meguri-no-kami, which is beside the path between the second torii (archway) and the inner precinct (see Fig. 3). Archaeologists in general agree that the shrine derived from the iwasaka or shinchi⁹

9. There are remains of Iwasaka such as Takimatsuri-no-kami and Okitama-no-kami in the Ise Shrine (Fukuyama, 1974, p.47).

(Kodama et al., 1962, p.234). These marked spaces must have served as locations for rites and festivals in which deities and man participated jointly; a temporary shrine was probably erected on the site and in some cases eventually became permanent.

We have so far considered a boundary which had a particular religious significance, but we must also note here that the boundary was also a means of securing a community from outside enemies in tribal times. Thus a distinction can be made between two types of boundary: the first enclosed a holy place within the community and came to be the location of ceremonies and festivals, while the second enclosed a village or tribal area acting as a protective barrier. An example of the second type of boundary can be found in the ruin of Otsuka at Yokohama city, which dates from between B.C.100 and A.D.100. It is clear from Fig. 10 that the hamlet was enclosed by a trench. This must have been a good defence against animals and enemies. In addition, a space was left between the houses and the trench.

The History of Early Han (202 B.C. - 8 A.D.), which gives the earliest historical account of Japan, states that Japan was divided into more than one hundred confronting tribal areas at about the beginning of the Christian era (Inous (a) 1965, p.173). It is known that in this tribal period there was a highly sensitive notion of boundaries. Each tribe held to its own area and placed pots or clay figures around the boundary of its territory



環濠でとりかこまれた弥生時代中期の集落跡（横浜市大塚遺跡、港北ニュータウン埋蔵文化財調査団提供）

Moated boundary around remains of Otsuka village in
Yokohama

(Asano, 1977 , F.57)

Fig. 10

as a deterrent to invasion from outside enemies. The pots and clay figures were, according to archaeologists (Suenaga et al., 1973, pp.202-3), symbols of the earth spirit or guardian god which was believed to live in the ground of each domain. If one tribe crossed the boundary into the land of another tribe, the intruders were believed to be subject to retribution of the earth god of the invaded area. This would have led to a fear of space outside their own boundaries and ultimately to fear of unlimited external space in general.

From the account given in the Kojiki¹⁰ we know that the early emperors Sujin (219-497) and Suinin (249-807) paid homage to the ground god of each tribal area they conquered, in order to avoid divine wrath: to worship the ground god of the region must have been a means of pacifying the local people (Suenaga et al., 1973, p.15). Judging from the fact that many Fudoki¹¹ mention the pots

10. The oldest extant book in Japanese completed in 712 A.D. It is the court's statement about the origin of the Imperial clan, Yamato and the leading families and the beginning of Japan as a nation. It is also a compilation of myths, historical and pseudo-historical narratives and legends, songs, anecdotes, folk etymologies and genealogies (Philippi, 1969, p.3). With the Nihon Shoki, it is the earliest and most important source in Japanese literature and history, which covers the period between the early fourth century and the end of the seventh century.

11. Records of the geography, legends, manners and customs of the provinces of Japan. Completed by each local authority for the Imperial Court at the end of the eighth century.

placed or buried around the boundary of the region, it is possible to assume that this custom might have spread almost all over Japan and survived for a long time. Both types of boundary were related to the concept of the earth god which could radiate its influence from the boundary. From the first type of boundary represented by the iwasaka or shinchi derived the Shinto shrines. The idea of the second type of boundary utilised as a defence against outside evils was extended to the mound tombs constructed extensively during the fourth and fifth centuries.

2.3 Mound Tombs

Mound tombs first appeared in the Yamato region (Nara) at the period between the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth century,¹² and some of them were of gigantic size almost equal to the Egyptian pyramids (Inoue (a), 1965, p.293). The appearance of such vast mound tombs is an indication of the existence of individuals who had a large labour force at their command. Although the mound was constructed not only by the emperors but also by the regional rulers, the spread of the mound tombs coincided with the expansion of the power of the Yamato clan (see distribution of mound tombs in Fig. 11). By the beginning of the fourth

12. Until this period the dead were simply buried in pottery urns, usually in pairs set mouth to mouth (Soper, 1955, p.169).

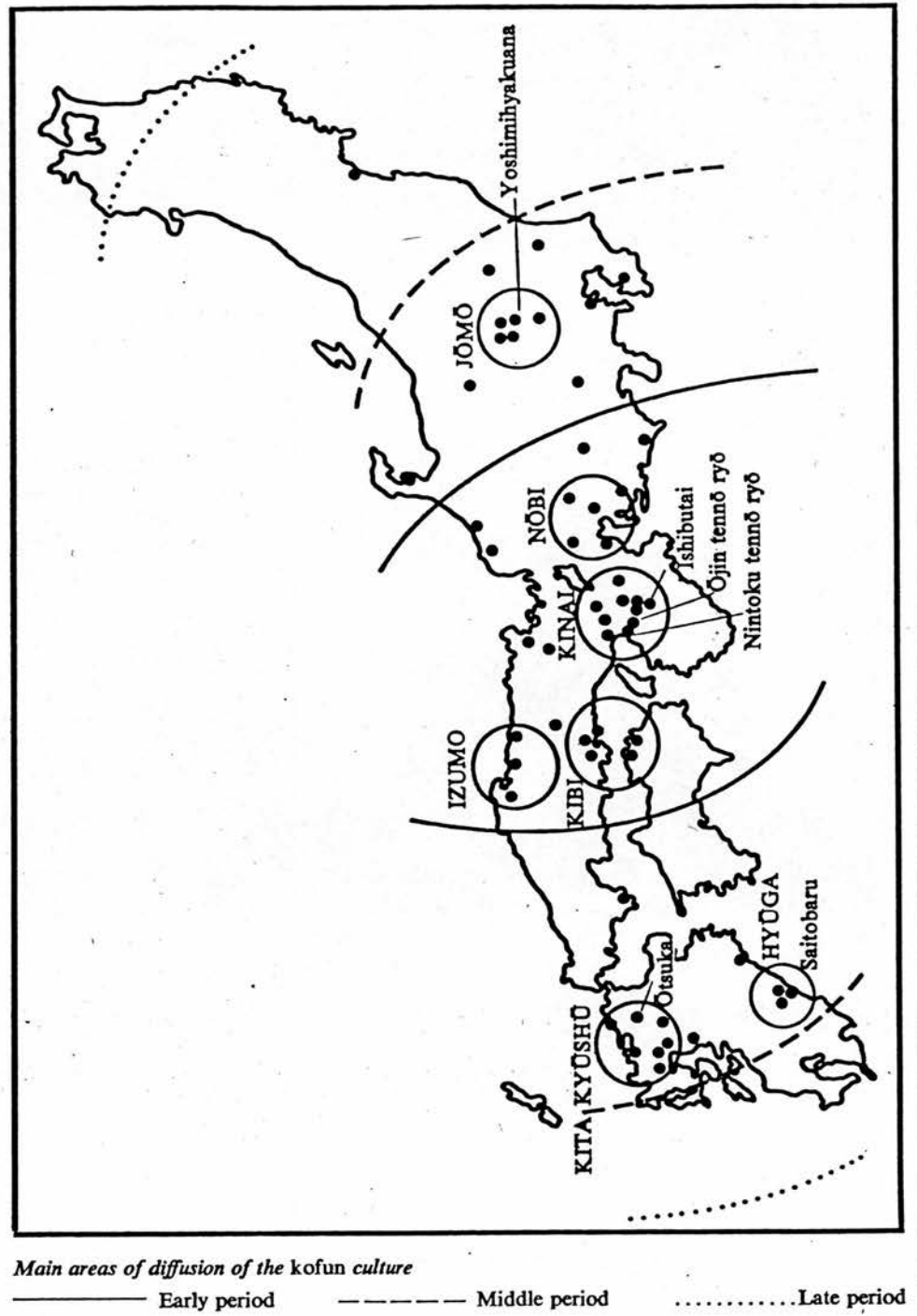


Fig.11 The main groups of mound tombs
(Marcade, 1974, p. 203)

century, the emperor had established his position as the head of the different clans (Inoue (a), 1965, p.189), and the size of the Imperial mounds suggests the supremacy secured by the Yamato clan.

It is known that both Imperial and private tomb types were originally surrounded by a symbolic rampart of pots, clay figures or even moats. An example of the boundary of pots placed around a small mound can be seen in Fig. 12. The mound of Emperor Nintoku (359-427), the largest of its kind in Japan (see Fig. 13), is ringed by three moats and is said to have been surrounded by approximately twenty thousand pots (Inoue (a), 1965, p.401). This kind of boundary seems to represent a belief in the spiritual influence of the dead and is very likely to have acted as a symbol of defence from impurity and evil influences, as was the case with the boundary placed between neighbouring communities or tribal areas.

It seems that the idea of the underground nether world existed in the minds of the Japanese from a very early period of history (Suenaga et al., 1973, pp.202-3), and one of the early chapters of the Kojiki gives us most concrete information on ancient Japanese ideas about death and the afterlife. The chapter, which is part of the legend of the two land-creator gods, Izanagi (male) and Izanami (female), is concerned with the story of Izanagi, who visited the land of Yomi (the nether land) searching for his dead spouse Izanami (see details in Appendix I).





317 円筒埴輪配列状態 埼玉県北葛飾郡桑村大字日沼にある瓢箪(ひょうたん)塚を1952年(昭和27)に埼玉大学の手で発掘調査した。全長10m内外の小前方後円墳であり、外形がかなりみだされていたが、低圧その原形を想定することができ、発掘調査を進めていたところ、中段に円筒埴輪列を発見して、これの位置を確かめると、われわれが前方部としていたのが、実は後円部をなすものであったことを知ったのである。いまここに見るのは、左方が後円部にかかるところであり、右方はくびれ部から前方部に及ぶところであり、円筒の数は55本を数えることができた。(解説 後藤守一)

Fig.12 Pots inserted around a small mound tomb
in Saitama Prefecture (excavated in 1952)

(Kodama et al., 1962, F.317)

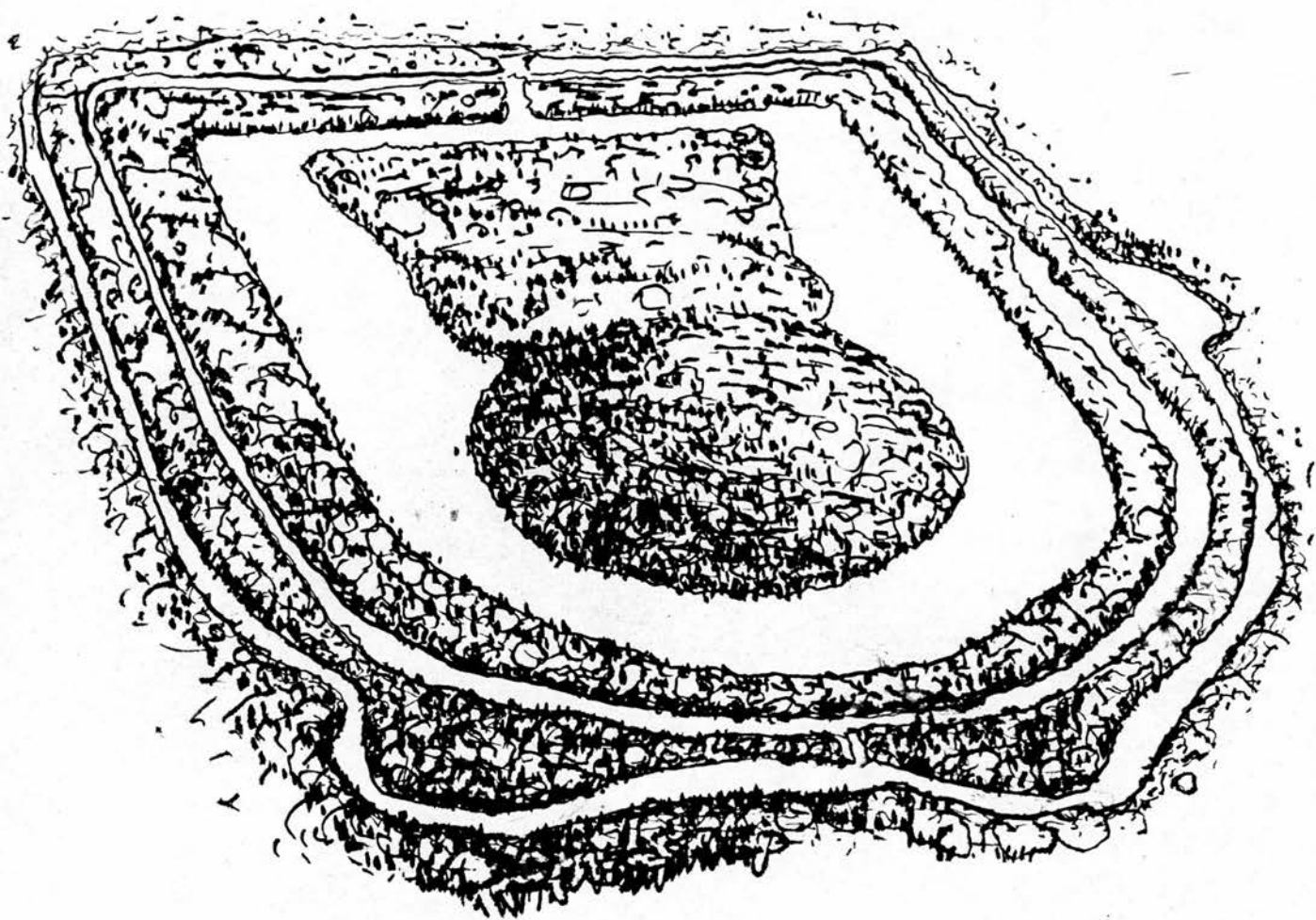


Fig.13 The mound-tomb of Emperor Nintoku
(based on Tange, 1965, p.182)

Clearly, the belief underlying the story is that the nether land is the source of detestable impurity and pollution while the dead, irrespective of the qualities they possessed on earth, could exert evil influences on the living. Here we can see an extreme and almost excessive sensitivity of the ancient Japanese to impurity and the distinction between the world of the living and that of the dead.

There is also a historical record suggesting the purpose of the symbolic barrier of the mound. The Shoku Nihongi (the chronicle of Japan which covers the years 697-792) states that when Empress Gemmyo (707-15) gave orders for the building of the new capital city of Heijo-kyo, now known as Nara city, in 709, she gave a special commission to the chief supervisor to make sure that if while they were building they found the evidence of an old mound they had to preserve the mound intact in order to keep the soul within the mound and to keep out evil influences.

It should be noted that this form of protective hedging can also be found in the Ise Shrine and the Daijo-kyu, buildings used for the most important Shinto ceremony (see details in 2.8). At Ise the wooden fences act as a quadruple boundary to preserve the main sanctuary from impurity while within the inner fence was an area covered with white gravel, a symbol of purity and its

preservation.¹³ Similarly, in the Daijo ceremony buildings, the two main shrines, where the emperor was to eat his meals with the gods, were surrounded by a brush-wood fence measuring about 195 feet (59.5 m) from east to west and 135 feet (41.2 m) from north to south (Kawazoe, 1965, p.176). The idea of purification, which has been very important to the Japanese,¹⁴ has found various expressions in Shinto shrines¹⁵ and particularly in the Ise Shrine. While all Shinto shrines have a torii,¹⁶ (archway which symbolises purification) (Kindaichi, 1973, vol. 15, p.55) in front, in the case of Ise, the worshipper must pass through four torii in order to reach the Inner Precinct: two at the either edge of the Uji bridge and the First and the Second torii (see the plan of Naiku in Fig. 13). Furthermore, between the First and the Second torii there

13. Large white pebbles also cover the alternate site of the Naiku and the Geku.

14. In many areas of Japan, there is still a traditional custom of ritual washing (of mouth, hands, and/or body).

15. Every Shinto shrine has a stone basin for water with which the worshipper cleanses his hands and mouth.

16. There is not an established view as to the origin of the Japanese torii. The torii was originally erected both in Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples, but later only in the former (Hanada ed., 1936, p.3519). It is quite possible, as many Buddhist believe, that the torii was derived from the Indian torana, which was built at the four sides of the stone fence enclosing the stupa.

is a place called Mitarashi, which has the specific purpose of water-purification. Here the worshippers symbolically purify themselves by rinsing mouth and hands with the clean water of the River Isuzu.

Although there is no doubt that the idea of the mound tomb came from the Continent where a Chinese tradition of royal sepulchral mounds was already very old, the Japanese version fully developed by the Yamato conquerors was unique in the ground plan of its tumulus. This type of mound tomb is known as 'circle-and-wedge' or 'square-front, round-back' in the shape of an old-fashioned keyhole (see Fig. 13). This form is peculiar to Japan and more specifically to the period of the establishment of the Yamato Court (Kawazoe, 1965, p.174).

What characterises the Japanese Imperial mound seems to be its great emphasis on external appearance. This becomes clear if we compare the mound tomb of Emperor Nintoku with that of the Shi-huang-di, the first emperor of Qin (B.C.246-10). The total length of the mound complex of Emperor Nintoku is about 1600 feet (488 m) while the diameter of the mound accounts for about half of this and its height is about 130 feet (40 m) (Soper, 1955, p.170). It covers a larger area as its base than the largest of the Egyptian pyramids (see Fig. 14), and obviously indicates a correspondingly strong Imperial power. As far as the size is concerned, the mound tomb of the Shi-huang-di is not so different

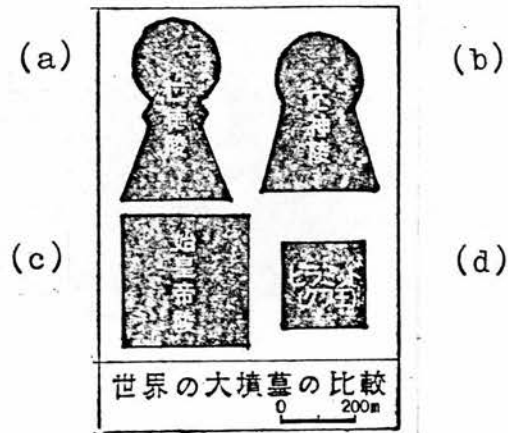


Fig.14 A comparison of the plan of mound-tombs and an Egyptian pyramid.

- (a) Emperor Nintoku (359-427)
- (b) Emperor Ojin (346-395)
- (c) The Shi-huang-di (B.C. 246-10)
- (d) Egyptian King Khopho (B.C. 2,500)

(Inoue @ ,1965,p.383)

from that of Nintoku: 350m long, 345m wide and 43m high (Murata, 1975, p.264). It should be noted, however, that the Chinese mound was protected by many devices designed to keep out thieves seeking the treasure of the dead.

According to Murata (1975, p.262), the mound of the Shi-huang-di was surrounded by solid double ramparts: the outer wall was about 6-7m thick, 2173m long and 974.2m wide while the inner wall was approximately 10.05m thick, 684.5m long and 578m wide. The outer wall had a gate at the east side and the inner wall had three at the east, north and west sides. Thus, we can see that the ramparts of the Chinese mound were real barriers which had a practical function of preventing the access of thieves. By contrast, the three enclosing moats and clay figures of the Japanese mound were symbolic barriers to keep out evil influences. The moats also clearly mark off the imperial mausoleum from the surrounding environment and give visual prominence to it. Furthermore, it is known that in the tumulus of the Shi-huang-di, even the inside chamber had effective devices to prevent intruders such as an automatic mechanism of bows and arrows (ibid, p.262). On the other hand, although no archaeological research has been allowed on the Imperial mausoleums, no evidence has been found of practical protective considerations in the private circle-and-wedge tombs excavated so far.

Archaeological research (Ueda, 1969 quoted in Suenaga, 1973, p.140) has revealed that in the circle-and-wedge plan the total length, the diameter of the circle and the length of the wedge part are clearly proportioned to each other and that this proportioning seems to have followed an orderly (though inexplicable) process of change. This seems to be an indication of the detailed design work involved in the construction of the circle-and-wedge mound tombs and a consistent interest in its formal appearance. No definite explanation has been offered so far as to the origin of the circle-and-wedge form, but certainly it would have been some sort of symbolism. Suenaga (1973, pp.206-7), for example, speculates that this peculiar form might have represented the shape of a pot, which was a symbol of defence as well as a marker of the dwelling of the ground god.

Both Nintoku's mound and that of the Shi-huang-di were monuments which ostensibly displayed their predominant power, but the Chinese mound, which was an ordinary hill-shape rise with four trapezoid sides (the base was not exactly square) was a design of a practical nature. On the other hand, the mausoleum of Emperor Nintoku provided an example of a design mainly concerned with external appearance. In fact, the great importance attached to external appearance was to become one of the most remarkable features of the Japanese monument architecture and is represented in the most sophisticated

way in the Ise Shrine (see 2.9) and the Second Horyu-ji, a Buddhist temple built around 708.

2.4 Pillar

We have already mentioned in section 2.2 such two-dimensional representations as the iwasaka and the shinchi symbolising the presence of the deities. It was, however, on the site of the shinchi that the first three-dimensional religious object was erected, the himorogi. There is unfortunately no universally accepted opinion of what the himorogi were. There is the view that they were simply sakaki¹⁷ trees or that they were pillars, and another view holds that the word himorogi refers to temporary altars set up for rites and festivals which included both pillars and sakaki branches (Tange, 1965, p.42). Whatever himorogi may exactly mean, it would be reasonable to assume at least that the three-dimensional symbol of a god evolved from a sakaki tree to the permanent shrine through the intermediary stages of the pillar and temporary altar.

As Tange (1965, p.42) points out, the story of the erection of a shrine at Ise under the reign of Emperor Suinin (249-80?) would probably signify a shift

17. An evergreen tree sacred in the Shinto religion.
Latin name: *Cleyera ochracea*

in symbolism from the iwakura, for long the Ise representational form, to the himorogi of the Yamato court. According to the Nihon Shoki, the origin of the Ise Shrine goes back to the reign of Emperor Sujin (219-497). Sujin is said to have worshipped both Amaterasu, his ancestress the Sun Goddess, and the territorial god of the Yamato region in his palace. However, when the plague broke out, Sujin had his daughter construct the himorogi on the shinchi at the village of Kasanui in the Yamato region and moved the Sun Goddess (symbolised by the hereditary mirror) there. Under Emperor Suinin, Sujin's successor, his daughter went from place to place looking for a good location for the worship of Amaterasu. When she finally came to the Ise area, an oracle was vouchsafed to her, declaring: "Since this land of Ise is a land where no turbulent tempests blow, and is a peaceful land where the twang of the bow and the hiss of the arrow are never heard, I desire to rest in this land". She then erected a shrine for the worship of the Sun Goddess at Ise.¹⁸

18. This story may suggest that a conflict occurred between the Yamato clan and other indigenous clans of the Yamato region who worshipped the earth god. The Yamato emperor might have moved the shrine for the Sun Goddess to Ise, where they had already had a firm footing and which was remote from the political centre as a concession.

Tange (1965, p.42) assumes that the present-day appearance of the alternate site (pebble covered, stone bordered areas with the shin-no-mihashira in the roofed-over fenced square in the middle) is probably reminiscent of the Yamato Court representational forms of the time of Emperor Sujin, when the himorogi were constructed on the shinchi at Kasanui for the worship of Amaterasu.

It seems that though there may have been several clans or tribes who originally worshipped the sun, the Yamato became eventually the only clan having the sun as their tutelary deity (Inoue (a), 1965, p.45). Obviously, they insisted on the authenticity of their power by associating their ancestry with the sun. The sun god must have been a much more useful concept for the Yamato to extend their rule than the earth god; as we have seen before (2.2) in Japan there were many earth gods, each associated with only a particular area. While the sun is a ubiquitous phenomenon, the earth god was 'immovable'.

The First Book of the Kojiki, which is 'a major statement of early Japanese politico-mythology' (Philippi, 1969, p.14), provides an account of the origin of the Sun Goddess and the relationship created between the Yamato clan and the Goddess. The whole mythology can be divided into two myth groups: (A) the myths which are concerned with the beginning of heaven and earth and the creation of the Japanese archipelago (the tenchi

kaibyaku myths) and (B) the myths related to the Heavenly descent of the grandson of Amaterasu to the earth (the tenson korin myths). Each group again consists of three sequences of myth as follows:

- (A) 1. Cosmogony sequences
- 2. Izanagi-Izanami sequences
- 3. Takamanohara sequences
- (B) 4. Izumo sequences
- 5. Land-ceding sequences
- 6. Heavenly Descent sequences

(For a brief summary of 1-5, see Appendix II)

In the mythology we find reflections of two separate myth worlds: the Takamanohara myth world, home of the heavenly deities who were ruled by the Sun Goddess and worshipped by the Yamato clan; and the world of the earthly deities, represented as autochthonous gods of the land - mountain deities, sea deities, deities of the home and hearth, etc - and attached to Okuninushi, a culture-hero deity worshipped at Izumo.¹⁹ The land-ceding myth represents a compromise settlement between two

19. Izumo is the area in the present Shimane Prefecture in the north-western part of the island of Honshu. In the mythology Izumo probably is representative of the anti-Yamato tribes. Historians (e.g. Inoue (a), 1965, p.85) suggest that Izumo was the biggest antagonising power to the emperor and its subjugation was an event of crucial importance in the process of the formation of the united tribal states by the Yamato. Inoue (ibid, p.84) also points out that even later in the eighth century there was a custom that only the governor of the Izumo region, when he took his post, had to pay a courtesy visit to the Court and pledge his loyalty to the emperor.

conflicting religious systems and sets the stage for the Heavenly Descent sequence.

The Heavenly Descent myth, which constitutes the core of the mythology of the Yamato, relates how Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, after receiving the land of Izumo from Okuninushi commanded her grandson Ninigi to leave his rock abode in heaven, and to descend to the mountain Takachiho (a peak on the island of Kyushu still bears the same name) in order to rule over the earth. Many mythologists (e.g. Matsumura, 1956, vol.3, pp. 510-17) have pointed out that a similar type of myth can be found in Korea and North-Central Asia, and concludes that the myth of the Heavenly Descent is a very old myth of North Asiatic (Tungusic?) origin.²⁰ Although the worship of the sun originally may have existed in the agricultural communities in Japan,²¹ the theory of deriving political power from heaven seems to have come from the Continent. It is the view held by the mainstream group of contemporary historians that the Yamato people were originally settled on Japan's

20. The common elements of all these myths - Korean as well as Japanese - are the deities' or rulers' descent from heaven to a mountain top, a divine mandate, and certain sacred regalia (Philippi, 1969, p.139).

21. Some historians (e.g. Tsuda quoted in Inoue (a), 1965, p. 42) deny the existence of the cult of the sun in ancient Japan before the rise of the Yamato to power.

southernmost island, Kyushu, from which they later migrated to the Yamato region.²² As their myths strongly reflect a northern Altaic language origin, some speculate that the Yamato reached Japan via the Korean peninsula.

The Kojiki, therefore, seems to have represented the process by which a northern Altaic shamanism was imposed on the essentially agricultural culture indigenous to Japan. This process signified the final welding of different tribal groups into the nation and was completed in the seventh century. The Ise Shrine was perhaps an architectural expression of the integration of these two types of culture. We may recall that the two Great Deities enshrined in the Naiku and the Geku were Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, and Toyouke, the Goddess of Cereals, each representing the sky religion and the ground religion respectively. Furthermore, apart from the nature deities we have discussed in 2.1 there are, among the Ise's subsidiary shrines, such shrines as the Tsukiyomi Shrine and the Izanagi and Izanami shrines, dedicated to the deities which appear in the myths related to the creation of the Japanese archipelago.

22. There is another group of historians who claim that the Yamato people were aboriginal inhabitants of the Yamato region. For a detailed discussion of the two theories as to the origin of the Yamato, see Inoue (a), 1965, pp.256-66).

Naturally, the perpendicular symbolism plays an important role in the mythology of the Yamato. There are two significant representational forms: a sakaki tree and the pillar. The sakaki tree appears in the myth of the Heavenly Stone Cave, which is part of the Takamanohara sequences (see Appendix II -3). When Amaterasu hid herself in the heavenly stone cave, in order to entice the Sun Goddess out of the cave a sakaki tree was set up in front of the cave. It will be evident from the story that the sakaki tree was a symbol used to call deities, and the symbolism seems to be a reflection of the northern Asiatic Heavenly-Descent myth, in which deities dwelling in heaven came down to the top of the mountain or high trees. The sakaki tree may have been a primitive form of the symbolic pillar, and even today it still retains a symbolic significance in Shinto rites and ceremonies in connection with intercourse between the deities and man.

The best-known and the most important myth related to the pillar can be found in the first part of the Izanagi-Izanami sequence of the Kojiki (see Appendix II -2). The story tells that when Izanagi (male god) and Izanami (female god) descended to earth, they erected a heavenly pillar and a spacious palace; then they started to go round the pillar in opposite directions, and when they met each other they married.

There are several different interpretation of the meaning of the 'heavenly pillar', but the present

writer subscribes to Matsumura's view (quoted in Philippi, 1969, pp. 398-99) that the pillar was used to summon down divine or ancestral spirits;²³ although phallic symbolism and fecundity symbolism can be seen in the 'heavenly pillar', they are only peripherally significant. That the 'heavenly pillar' was a symbolic staircase between heaven and earth can also be seen from the account of the Nihon Shoki that Amaterasu, a daughter of Izanagi, ascended to heaven through the heavenly pillar (quoted in Inoue (b) 1969, p.17).

It should be noted that the 'heavenly pillar' was a single pillar in isolation having no structural significance. The custom of building a free standing pillar is still preserved in the Suwa Shrine (see 2.2). At the Suwa Shrine the pillar (disbranched and barked fir tree), which is believed to be the dwelling of the god, stands besides each of the four corners of the main sanctuary, and is rebuilt every six years. As we have noted in 2.2, the Suwa Shrine originally had no sanctuary building and it was the fir tree itself that was worshipped.

An example of the independent pillar can also be found in the Ise Shrine: the shin-no-mihashira (sacred

23. According to Matsumura, the procession around the pillar summoned the spirits and ensured their blessing upon the marriage. The ancient Japanese believed that sexual intercourse was a sacred rite and that the presence of the deities was vital when performing it (ibid, p.398).

central post) which is half buried in the ground (see 2.1). The shin-no-mihashira stands under the middle of the floor of both the Naiku and the Geku main sanctuary buildings, a feature not found in any of the other sanctuaries. The shin-no-mihashira of the Naiku contains the mirror, symbol of the Sun Goddess and the central object of worship at Ise. A special ceremony associated with the shin-no-mihashira takes place every twenty years when the main sanctuaries are rebuilt. It would not be farfetched to assume that the shin-no-mihashira was a symbolic expression of the integration of the ground and the sky religions. A Shinto scripture of the end of the twelfth century describes this particular pillar as follows:

"The shin-no-mihashira is the origin of all Nature. It is the life of the emperor, the source of prosperity and a permanent and immovable basis of the nation" (quoted in Inoue, (b) 1969, p.21).

In this account we clearly see a political implication attached to the shin-no-mihashira, as, in effect, a symbol of the emperor, the deified absolute ruler.

There are in the Kojiki many expressions in which deities are compared to pillars. For example, in the opening chapter there is a phrase 'these three pillars of gods'.²⁴ The use of the word 'pillar' as a counting unit was in the Kojiki also extended to emperors and

24. It is still now the custom of Shintoism to count gods as pillars.

sometimes to the members of the royal family. As the Yamato extended its power during the fourth and fifth centuries, the pillar became significant not only as a religious object but also a political symbol of the emperor. It is readily understandable then that a strong perpendicular emphasis is given to the form of the buildings of the Ise Shrine. The Imperial power and authority had to be visually demonstrated in the national monument enshrining the emperor's ancestry. Such effect is mainly produced by the munamochi bashira (ridge-supporting post). As we have noted before (2.1) the munamochi bashira stands at each end of the building detached from the walls but supporting the apex of the gable end (see Fig. 8). As we shall see in the following section, two munamochi bashira were essential structural elements to support the ridge of the roof in the original form of the Ise buildings, but in the present structure they are superfluous elements. That the munamochi bashira was retained even after it had lost its structural significance may be an indication of the symbolic value attached to the pillar.

2.5 Structure of ancient granary

It has been generally accepted that the form of the Ise Shrine building evolved from that of the raised-floor storehouse (Fukuyama, 1974, p.56). Archaeologists reckon that the granary began to exist between A.D. 100 and 300, when the agricultural productivity greatly

expanded due to the use of iron tools and the improvement in the irrigation system (Inoue (a), 1965, p.171).

There are two well-known sources of information as to the structure of the ancient granary. One is the picture drawn on one of the pots unearthed from the remains at Karako in the Nara Prefecture (see Fig. 15), and the other is the storehouse excavated from the fourth century ruins of Kodera, at present Matsuyama city in Ehime Prefecture (see Fig. 16). It is clear from Fig.15 that the granary drawn on the pot of Karako had a floor raised well above the ground, which was probably meant to protect the crops against dampness and rats. The roof is gabled and seems to splay out widely at either end as it rises, so as to give the apex a wide overhang. The support to the projection is secured by two munamochi bashira, isolated pillars holding the ridge pole. The entrance is at the gable end with an exterior ladder leading to a high floor. It is known that a similar drawing of the raised-floor storehouse was found on the dotaku²⁵ excavated in Sanuki, the northernmost tip of the island of Shikoku, which dated from A.D.100 to 200 (see Fig. 16). The basic elements of the raised-floor part are posts and beams; the storehouse at Kodera has board walls of log-cabin construction, with the ends of the board crossing each other at the four corners. The Kodera type differs from the

25. Bronze objects of indeterminate purpose, resembling in shape a somewhat flattened bell, that have been unearthed in various parts of Japan.

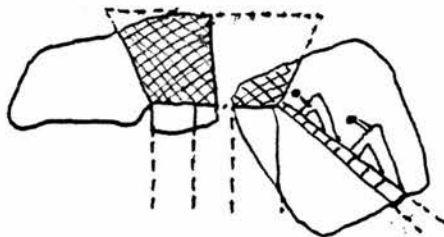
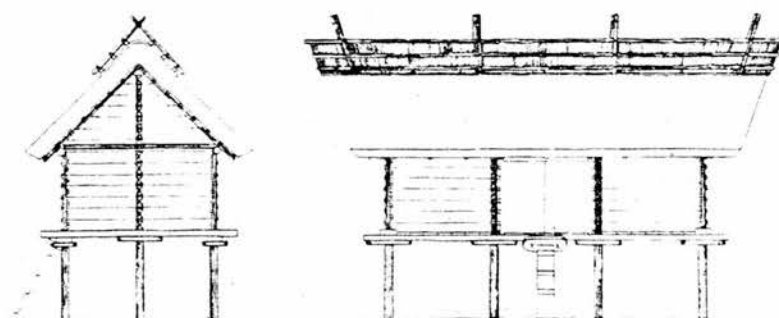


Fig.15 Granary drawn on one of the pots unearthed from the remains at Karako in Nara Prefecture.

(based on Fukuyama,1974,F.1-22)



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Fig.16 Storehouse excavated from the ruin of Koderu in Ehime Prefecture.

(reconstructed by Bunkacho,1977,p.73)



Fig.17 Drawing of the raised-floor storehouse found on the dotaku excavated at Sanuki in Kagawa Prefecture.

(based on Fukuyama,1974,p.8)

Karako type in two points: while the entrance is at the front of the building, the structure does not include the munamochi bashira.

According to Fukuyama (1974, p.56), until the mid-14th century the main sanctuary of the subsidiary shrines at Ise such as the Aramatsuri Shrine was constructed in the style of primitive raised-floor granaries as we have seen above (see Fig. 18). The walls consisted of boards that crossed at the four corners in a log cabin fashion. The entrance was at the front as with the case of the Koderu type granary while there were two munamochi bashira as we have seen in the Karako type. This original style is still now preserved in the Mikeden (Hall of Daily Offering) situated behind the main sanctuary of the Geku between the outermost and the second fence. Fukuyama assumes that the buildings of the Naiku and Geku were also built in this style at a very early stage.

If we compare the supposed original form and the present form of the Ise buildings, we shall notice that these two structures are quite different. Figs. 19 and 20 show the process of construction of each style of building. In the original style the weight of the roof falls on the walls and the munamochi bashira, which is an essential element to maintain the stability of the whole building. On the other hand, in the present form the structure acquired more stability: the roof is supported by the pillars inside the building and the munamochi bashira

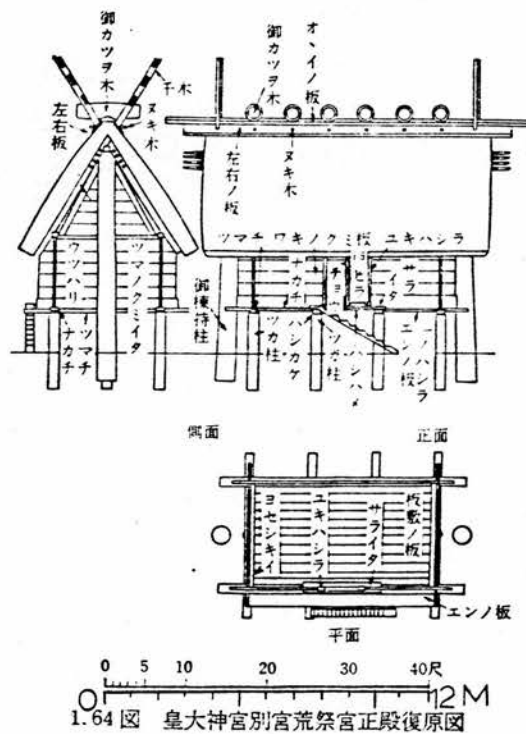


Fig.18 9th Century style of the Aramatsuri Shrine
(drawn by Fukuyama)

(Fukuyama, 1974, p.56)

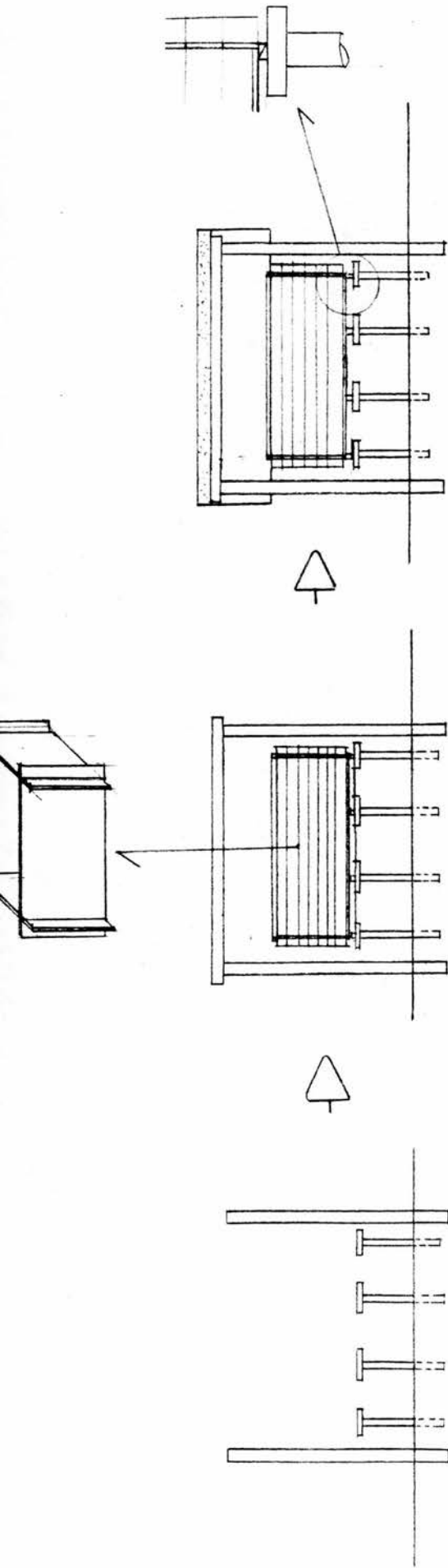


Fig.19 Process of construction of primitive raised-floor granary style

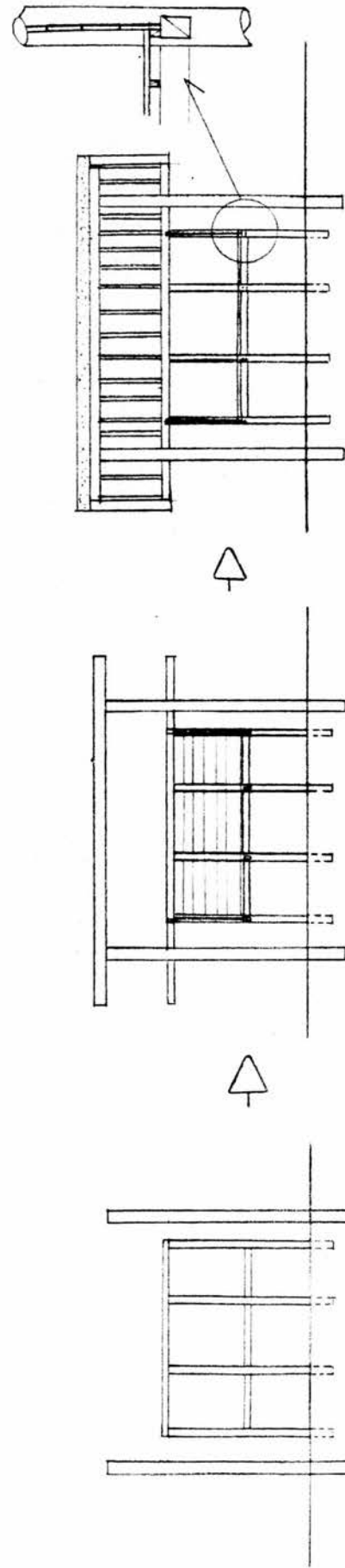


Fig.20 Process of construction of the present Ise Shrine building

while the floor rests on the floor joists and the beam connects the pillars both inside and outside the building. Thus, the munamochi bashira has now lost most of its structural significance. Although it is clear that the basic form of the Ise Shrine buildings developed out of the architectural style of raised-floor granaries, we should also bear in mind that it underwent various technical improvements on both structural and aesthetic aspects. We shall discuss in detail later in 2.9 the evidence of architectural refinement and sophistication added to the Ise as we see it today, which requires highly advanced technical skill and workmanship.

2.6 Chigi and Katsuogi

The chigi (the forked finials projecting over the ridge at both gable ends) and the katsuogi (horizontal ridge billets), which are idiosyncratic roof features of the Japanese Shinto shrine architecture, are important elements constituting the syinmei style (see 2.1) of the Ise Shrine.

The original form of the chigi can be observed in the extension of the gable lines of the ancient granaries we have already discussed in the previous section. It seems, however, that the chigi was not unique to the granaries or storehouses. In fact, the Kojiki's account of the origin of the Izumo Shrine suggests that the chigi was used for the emperor's palace as well. In the

Land-ceding sequence (see Appendix II -5) Okuninushi surrenders his land to Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, on condition that he is given a shrine equal in splendour to the palace of the emperor: he says,

"I will yield this land only if you will worship me, making my dwelling-place like the plentiful heavenly dwelling where rules the heavenly sun-lineage of the offspring of the heavenly deities, with the pillars as solid as trees firmly rooting in the bedrock and the chigi rising high unto Takamanohara itself".

(quoted from the Kojiki, chapt. 37, the emphasis is the present writer's).

As it is the end of the fourth century that Japan (except for the island of Hokkaido and the northern part of the Tohoku area) was united under the control of Emperor Ojin (Inoue (a), 1965, p.85), we may assume that the features described in the above-mentioned account of the Kojiki were those of the palace of the emperor of around this period. From the account it is clear that the height of the chigi as well as the solidity of the pillars is stressed as a prestige symbol of the emperor.

It is not likely that the chigi ever had any practical function; the function of the chigi must have been essentially ornamental from the beginning, addition of lightness to what would otherwise have been a somewhat heavy structure. An example of the stylised chigi can be found in the Izumo Shrine. While at Ise the chigi is functionally achieved by extending the bargeboards in a high 'V' above the apex, at Izumo

the bargeboards end against the ridge and the chigi is only an isolated scissor-like piece of wood (see Fig. 21). Much of the impression created by the building depends upon the design of the roofs. In this sense the chigi, as we shall fully discuss later (see 2.9), plays a crucial part in enhancing the external view of the Ise Shrine.

Unlike the Chigi, no katsuogi has yet been discovered in the old, excavated storehouses. Instead, it is known that one of the pottery house models unearthed from a mound tomb attributed to the fourth or fifth century at Akabori village in Gunma Prefecture, had a carefully detailed ridge construction with evenly spaced billets, katsuogi (see Fig. 22). The house model, which was the largest of all those discovered at that time, is considered to have been the residence of a local lord.

It was necessary to lay heavy blocks of wood or stones along the apex of a thatched roof in order to protect the pitched thatch from the wind; these weighty elements obviously developed into the katsuogi. The katsuogi, however, also seems to have functioned as a status symbol of a local lord or the aristocracy. Furthermore, one of the anecdotes of Emperor Yuryaku (457-79) indicates that it eventually became a stylised symbol used exclusively for Imperial

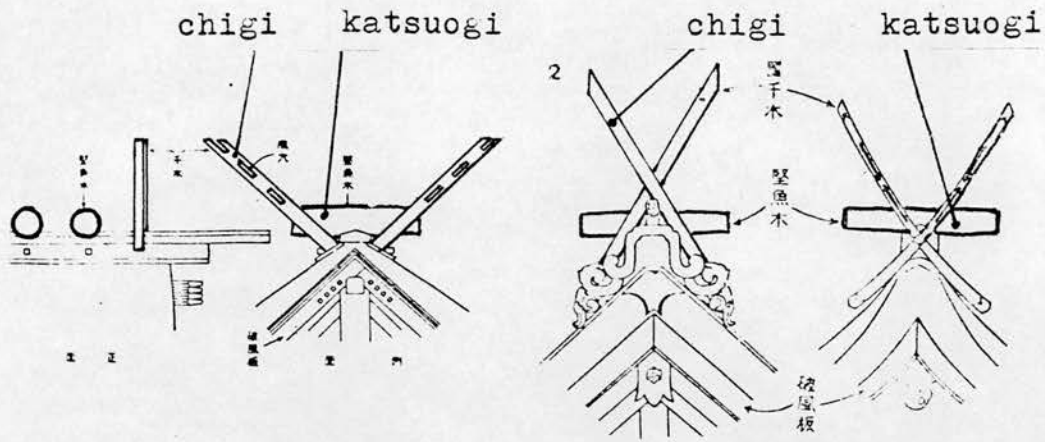


Fig.21 A comparison of the chigi between the Ise Shrine and the Izumo Shrine

(Nitschke,1974,p.771)

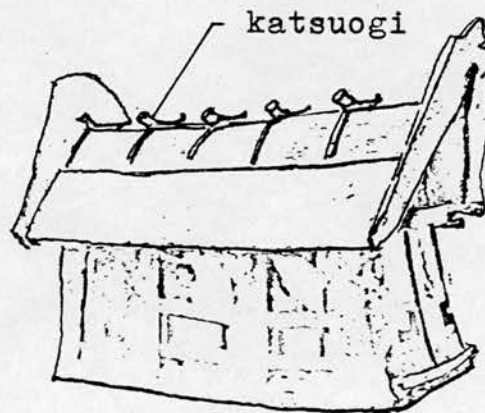


Fig.22 A pottery house model unearthed from the mound tomb at Akabori village in the Gumma Prefecture

(Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai,1968,p.8)

purposes. The Kojiki records that Emperor Yuryaku, hearing that a local lord had built a house with katsuogi on the roof, was enraged and ordered it to be burnt down (quoted in Inoue (a), 1965, p.403). Although the katsuogi were no longer structurally necessary when wooden roofs were substituted for thatch, they were retained as a decorative feature.

Together with the chigi, the katsuogi is now intimately associated with the Shinto shrine, and this ancient Imperial symbol became a marker of the status of the shrine. The Shinto shrines are normally divided into three ranks, Taisha (great shrine), Chusha (middle shrine) and Shosha (small shrine), and the number of the katsuogi specified for each rank is eight, six and four respectively (Morohashi, 1968, vol. 12, p.676). At Ise the main sanctuary of the Naiku has ten katsuogi while its counterpart of the Geku has nine; other buildings have a lesser number. This seems to be a subtle indication of the supremacy of the Sun Goddess over the Goddess of Cereals, which is related to the ground religion. Thus, the katsuogi at Ise is used as a device to mark the predominant position of the Imperial House.

2.7 Miyake

In the previous section (2.5) we have discussed some architectural evidence indicating that the style

of the Ise Shrine derives from that of granaries. The evolution of the shrine out of the granary would seem to have been, in a sense, a natural process. Around the communal storehouses festivals celebrating the autumn harvest must have taken place, and the sense of gratitude as well as the wish for another rich harvest focused on the granary would have been readily exalted to religious emotion. It is highly likely that the raised-floor storehouse came to be viewed as a sacred symbol in the agricultural community. However, if we look at the historical development of the storehouse in relation to the expansion of the Imperial power, we shall see that it is not the case that an ordinary primitive granary directly became the Ise Shrine, but that the forerunner of the Ise Shrine seems to have been a very special type of storehouse called miyake.

Miyake was originally the name given to a storehouse holding the crop from the emperor's land, but as the power of the Yamato Court extended, the Imperial storehouse came to function also as a local administration centre and tax office (Kindaichi, 1973, p.660). According to the Nihon Shoki, the miyake was first set up during the reign of Emperor Suinin (249-280?) (Watanabe, 1949, p.44), the same period as the shrine for the worship of Amaterasu was moved to Ise (see 2.4). The miyake showed a rapid increase in number after the reign of

Emperor Ojin (346-95), who established the position of the Yamato as the head of the tribal state (Inoue (a), 1965, p.485), and it is said that by 513 miyake had been founded in every region throughout the country (Kindaichi, 1973, p.660).

During the fourth and fifth centuries although the emperor held and maintained the hegemony of the rest of clans, his power was not strong enough to exercise direct control over the whole country. The Yamato Court was operated by a coalition government formed by the powerful clans around the Yamato region (Inoue (a), 1965, p.448). The local lords, who were entrusted with supervisory authority over the miyake, enjoyed rather extensive autonomy in their domains at this stage (ibid, p.344). In the sixth century, however, the position of the emperor was strengthened as the centralisation of the administrative power proceeded. Government officials started to be dispatched to supervise the administration of the miyake which had particular importance in the interest of the Yamato Court (Naoki, 1965, p.18). Thus, the miyake gradually became local agencies of the central government and were used to restrict and cut down the political influence of the local lords.

In 527 a local lord of the Tsukushi region in Kyushu rose in revolt. The rebellion, however, was put down the following year, and this was the last defiance of the local lords to the Imperial authority (Inoue (a),

1965, p.489). The Nihon Shoki records that when the leader of the revolt was killed his son surrendered and offered his land to the emperor to be saved from the due punishment. The Imperial Court took over the land and built a miyake there. (Kitayama, 1968, p.26). This episode seems to show clearly the process in which the miyake came to be regarded as a symbol of the power of the emperor who gained a direct control over a particular region. In fact, the word 'miyake' also came to denote the Imperial House itself (Kindaichi, 1973, p.660), which is now the most widely understood meaning of the word. It would not be unreasonable then to assume that the katsuogi came to be attached to the roof of the miyake and, together with the chigi, marked the Imperial authority.

The Ise region was the area where the Yamato emperors had a firm footing from very early times, and it is known that the region had many miyake (Naoki, 1965, p.43). When the administration system became more complex and it became necessary to make a distinction between the miyake of the government and those which belonged to the emperor himself, many of the Ise miyake are said to have remained as the emperor's private property (ibid, p.44). It is likely to have been the case that one of the emperor's miyake became the Ise Shrine. Apart from the Ise Shrine, however, there are many other state shrines which seem to have been closely

connected with the storehouse in terms of political, economical or military significance. For example, the Isonokami Shrine at Tenri city in Nara Prefecture is famous for its association with weapons. As we have already noted earlier (see 2.2) this shrine had originally no main sanctuary, and the specifically marked ground to which no one had access, was worshipped as an abode of a deity. In the Kojiki, however, there are many records (e.g. chapters 49, 69 and 104) of the presentation of weapons made to this shrine by emperors, and we can assume that the treasury of the Isonokami shrine was, in fact, an arsenal.

While the emperors of the fourth century such as Ojin and Nintoku sought a symbol of their power in the gigantic mound tombs, the emperors of the fifth century tried to demonstrate their supremacy by the construction of sophisticated palaces. The anecdote of Emperor Yuryaku (457-79), who jealously kept the katsuogi as a sign of the status of the emperor (see 2.6), will be an indication of the new trend. In fact, it was under the reign of this emperor that the first monumental architecture in Japanese history was erected. It was the multiple-storied palace of Emperor Yuryaku. The birth of a palace architecture clearly distinguishable from the dwellings of the rest of the people, is described in the Nihon Shoki, which mentions the astonishment of a still naive people in the face of superior technical

achievement. It was the Inabe, a guild of architectural specialists made up of descendants of Korean immigrant carpenters, that enabled the construction of a new type of palace. The history of Korean immigrants, most of whom were artisans, goes back to the end of the fourth century, when Japan invaded Korea (Inoue (a), 1965, p.412). It goes without saying that these skilled carpenters who formed the Inabe were the main work force of the construction of the early Buddhist temples in Japan, which first appeared at the end of the sixth century. With the progress of architectural knowledge and workmanship the building of the miyake must also have undergone some technical improvements to make it structurally more sounder and more impressive.

2.8 Daijo-kyu

When we study the development of the Shinto shrine and especially that of the Ise Shrine, there is, besides the miyake, another important architectural style which deserves a brief consideration. It is the Daijo-kyu (kyu = shrine), the temporary shrine erected for the performance of a ceremony called Daijo ceremony. We may recall that there seems to have been three developmental stages from a sakaki tree or the pillar to the temporary altar and then to the permanent shrine (see 2.4). The Daijo-kyu is the best example of a temporary place of worship, the forerunner of a permanent shrine architecture.

The Daijo ceremony was celebrated at the beginning of the emperor's reign and only on that single occasion in the reign of each emperor. Although, strictly speaking, the ceremony was not a coronation ceremony, it still had one of the functions of such a ceremony in Western traditions, in the way that it acted as the official approval of the emperor's status (Tanaka, 1975, p.289). It is said that the origin of the Daijo-kyu can be traced back to the fourth to fifth centuries (Kawazoe, 1965, p.176), and the tradition of holding the Daijo ceremony was maintained until the end of the Second World War. The Daijo ceremony was essentially an agricultural ceremony performed during the summer season - from spring through to autumn - after the succession. It associated the new reign with the cycle of sowing and harvest. Within the ceremony were eighty movements representing the complete process of growing rice from spring to harvest (Tanaka, 1975, p.174). At one stage of the ceremony the emperor was supposed to contact the ancestry deities, and through this contact the status of the emperor as a descendant of the deities came into effect.

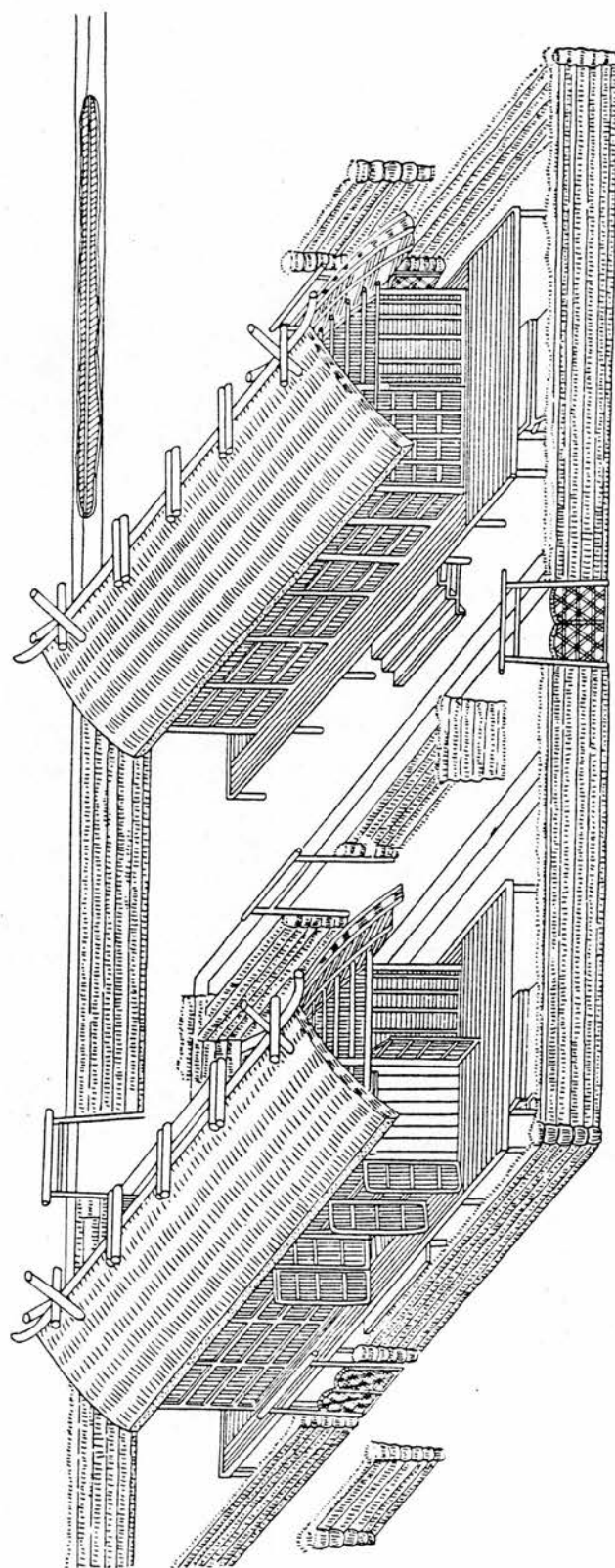
The Daijo ceremony is reputed to be the most important Shinto ritual in the Engishiki, the tenth century record. The Engishiki gives three hierarchical rankings of Shinto ceremonies: in addition to the Daijo ceremony there are five lesser ranked ceremonies and

twelve minor ones²⁶ (Tanaka, 1975, p.265). As we noted in 2.6 with reference to the number of katsuogi, the Ise Shrine tops the hierarchical ranking of the Shinto shrines, and therefore the status of the Daijo ceremony and that of the Ise Shrine are on a par.

The first published details of a Daijo-kyu occur in the Jogan Kyakushiki of 868, which gives an account of the ceremonies in the Heian period (794-1185) (Kawazoe, 1965, pp. 176-77). For the Daijo-kyu, logs with the bark left on were used, and the pillars were sunk directly into the ground without any foundations. It was surrounded by a brush-wood fence measuring about 195 feet (59.5m) from east to west and 135 feet (41.2m) from north to south (see Fig. 23). A path in the centre divided the enclosure into two halves, east and west, known as Yuki-in and Suki-in, respectively. It was the tradition for the emperor to eat his meals here with the gods: the evening meal in the main sanctuary of the Yuki-in, and the morning meal in the main sanctuary of the Suki-in.

The main sanctuaries measured thirty feet from north to south and only twelve from east to west. The gabled roofs were thatched with green grass; there were chigi and eight katsuogi. The interior was divided

26. Four of the five middle-ranked ceremonies are performed in the Ise Shrine (Umeda, 1973, p.17).



The Yuki-in and Suki-in of the Daijo kyu

Fig.23 The Yuki-in and Suki-in of the Daijo-kyu

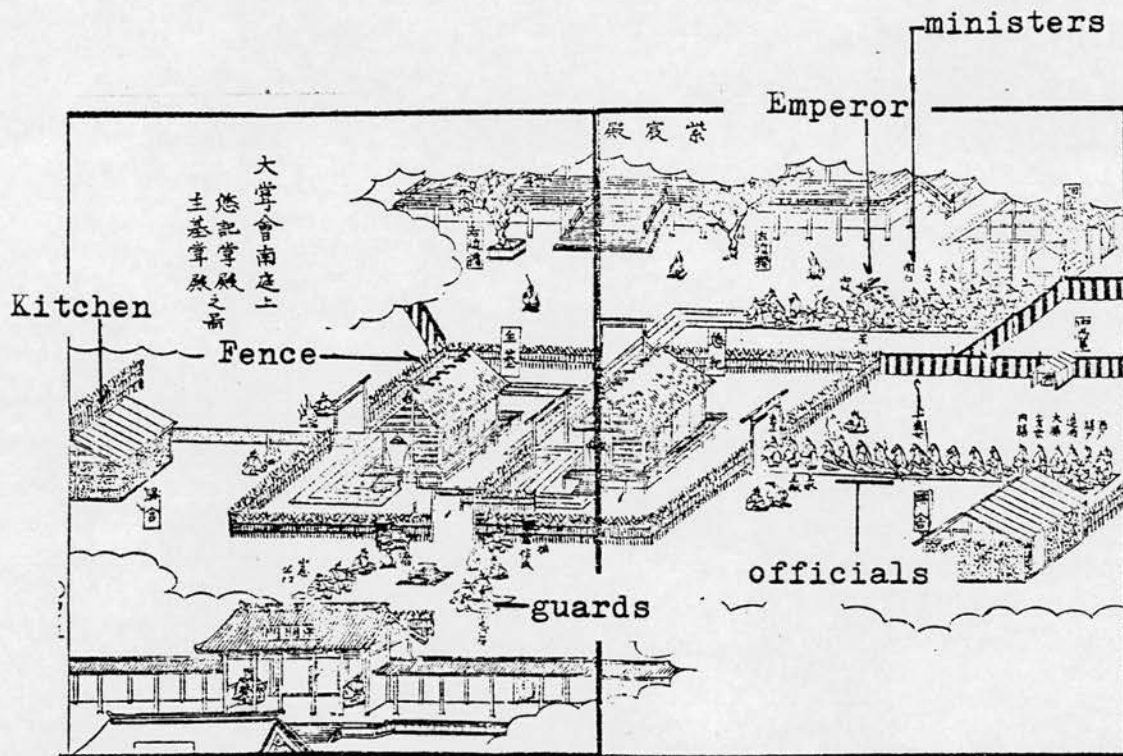
(kawazoe,1965,p.177)

from north to south to form two chambers, the northern half being known as the inner and the southern half as the outer chamber. The walls of the inner chamber were made of grass, covered with woven straw mats on the outside. The walls of the outer chamber were rush blinds on the outside and framed straw mats on the inside. The floor was strewn with bundles of grass covered with bamboo poles; in the inner chamber this was further covered with straw mats. The building which used natural materials, was erected for each performance of the ceremony and dismantled afterwards. This temporary nature of the Daijo-kyu seems to be related in some way to the characteristic idiosyncrasy of Ise that it has been rebuilt every twenty years. At Ise the life-span is specified to be twenty years, a possible general figure for the likely period of the reign of an ancient emperor. The twenty year cycle of rebuilding would also guarantee that knowledge of traditional building methods would be kept alive. As with the case of Ise, the Daijo-kyu had two main sanctuaries; this may have been to ensure that if at any point impurity crept into the ceremony, the service would not be invalidated.

Although the Daijo-kyu was built for the most important rite of state, even for a temporary structure, its construction was, as we have seen above, a crude affair. The simplicity of the individual

Daijo-kyu buildings, however, does not indicate a corresponding simplicity in the structure as a whole or in the ceremony itself. According to Kawazoe (1965, p.178), the Daijo-kyu consisted of a total of about one hundred buildings. Besides the Yuki-in and Suki-in already mentioned, there was the Inami-no-in, 160 feet square (14.9m^2) and containing eight buildings; the Yuki Nai-in and Suki Nai-in, each 120 feet square (11.2m^2) and containing eleven buildings; the Yuki Gai-in and Suki Gai-in, each 400 feet square (37.2m^2) and containing twenty buildings; the Hatori-in, with four buildings in grounds of 100 feet square (9.3m^2); and others. This would give some idea of the impressive scale of ceremonies in ancient times.

Not only was the Daijo ceremony given the superior place amongst the Shinto ceremonies, it was also devoted to the concept of hierarchy, which is revealed clearly in the design of the layout of the buildings. Although the Jogan Kyakushiki gives us information about the layout of the Daijo-kyu, it does not clearly illustrate the location of each participant of the ceremony. The oldest picture available now which indicates the location of the people involved in the Daijo ceremony is dated 1848 (see Fig. 24). Fig. 25 is a speculative drawing of the disposition of the rooms and pathways of the Yuki-in and the Suki-in, based on Fig. 24 and Fig 26, which



大嘗會南庭上・悠記・主基殿圖（嘉永元年版御代始鈔口繪）

Fig.24 Picture of Daijo Ceremony of 1848.

Tanaka (1975) p.120

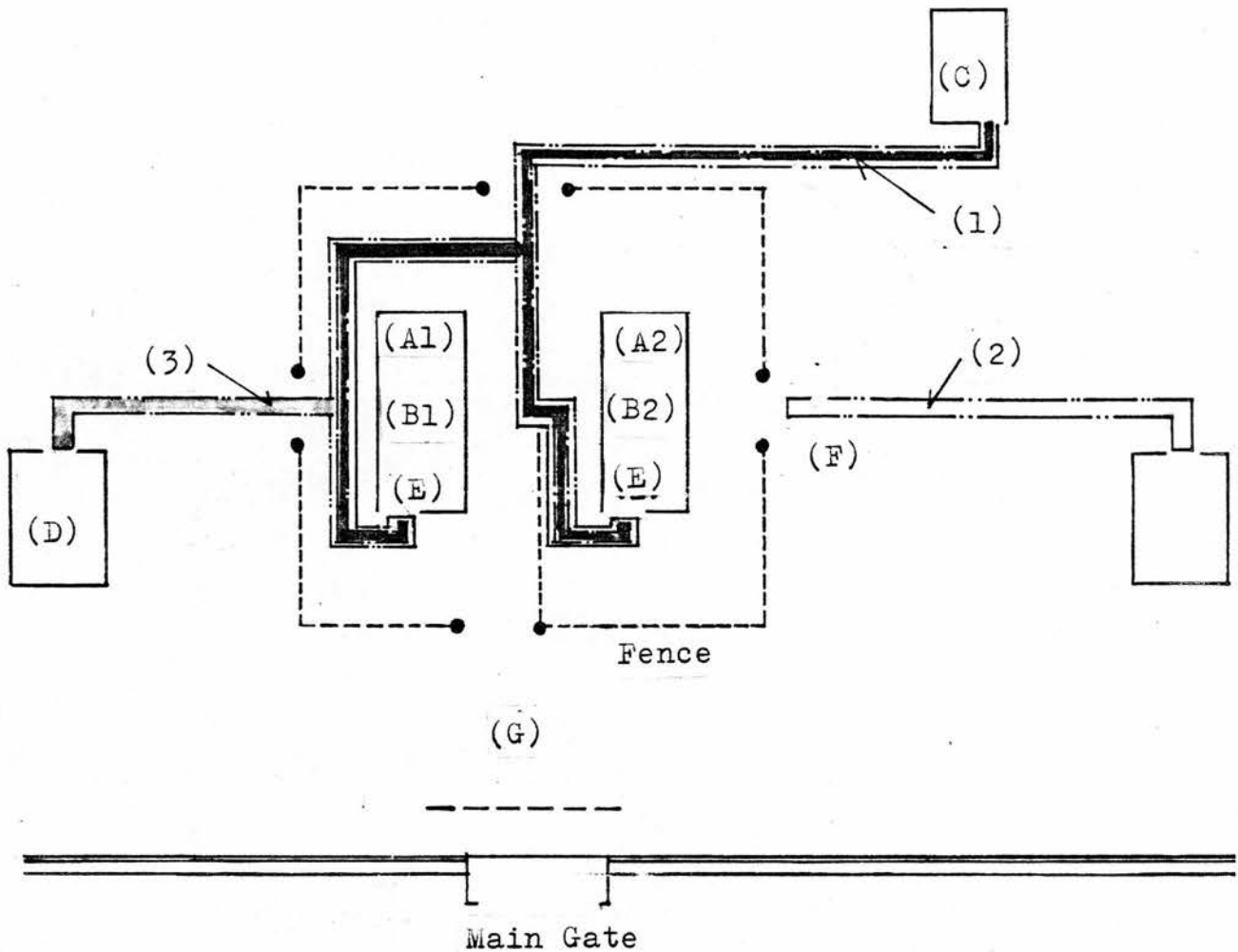


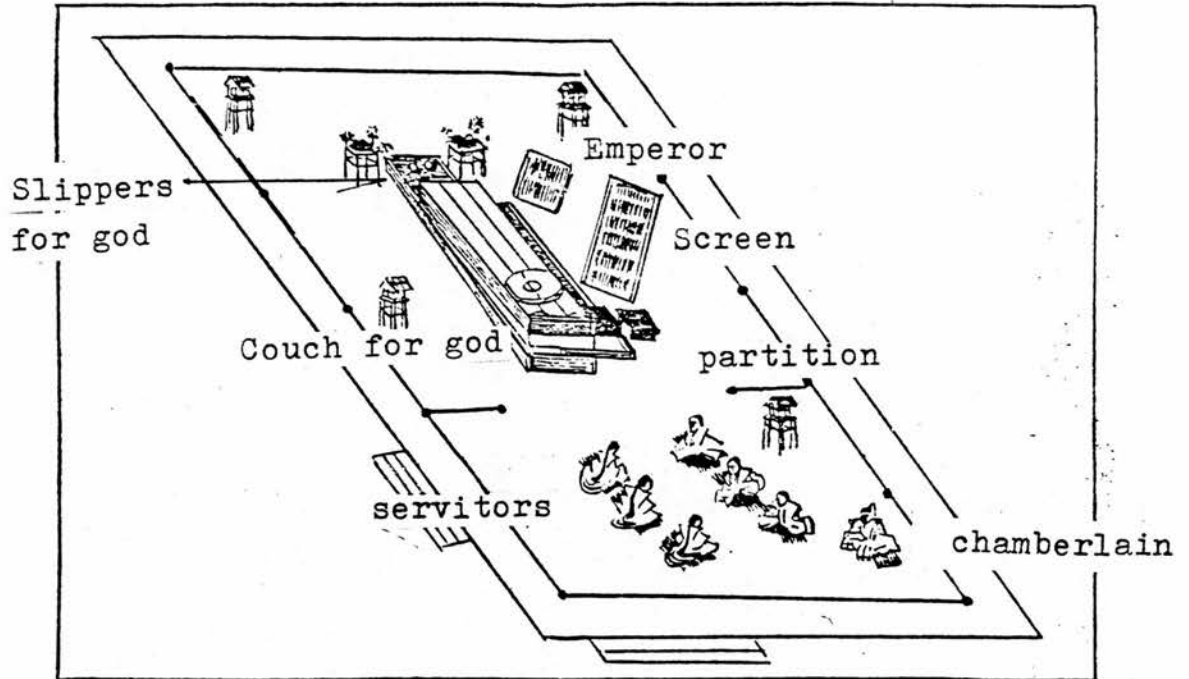
Fig.25 Layout of the Daijo-kyu main sanctuaries

(based on Figs.24 and 26)

We see three different paths in use;

- (1) This is actually a double path: the emperor uses the centre and his servants use the outside.
- (2) Officials stay here, and remain outside the gate.
- (3) Path used by servants to carry food from the kitchen for the emperor's ceremonial meal.

- A1,A2 the space assigned to the deities
- B1,B2 the space assigned to the deities and the emperor
- C the emperor's private room
- D kitchen, the place for the essential workers: cooks for the ceremony.
- E the place for chamberlain and servitors
- F the place for officials
- G the place for guards



The Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies 所載の悠紀殿内図

Fig.26 Drawing of the inside of the Yuki-in
(Tanaka, 1975, p.140)

shows a detailed plan of the main sanctuary of the Yuki-in.

Apparently, only the emperor and a few of his entourage entered the main sanctuary while the ministers and officials waited outside. It should be noted that the pathways marked off the special areas and were themselves reserved only for certain participants. In Fig. 25 we can see different ranks of society from emperor to guards formally established in their special places in relationship to each other. It will be understood, therefore, that the purpose of the Daijo ceremony was to express and establish the emperor's superior position to everyone-else in the hierarchy. Judging from the fact that this hierarchical arrangement was observed in 1848 when the emperor had virtually long since lost his political power, it seems that this custom had already been established by the eighth century, the height of prosperity of the Imperial system. Furthermore, one can also assume from the style of the building in the picture, which indicates no sign of the Continental influence, this hierarchical arrangement could be fixed much earlier possibly around the end of the fourth century when the Yamato emperor obtained the hegemony of the rest of the clans.

A similar hierarchical division of space can be found in the Ise Shrine. Fig. 27 is the original 9th

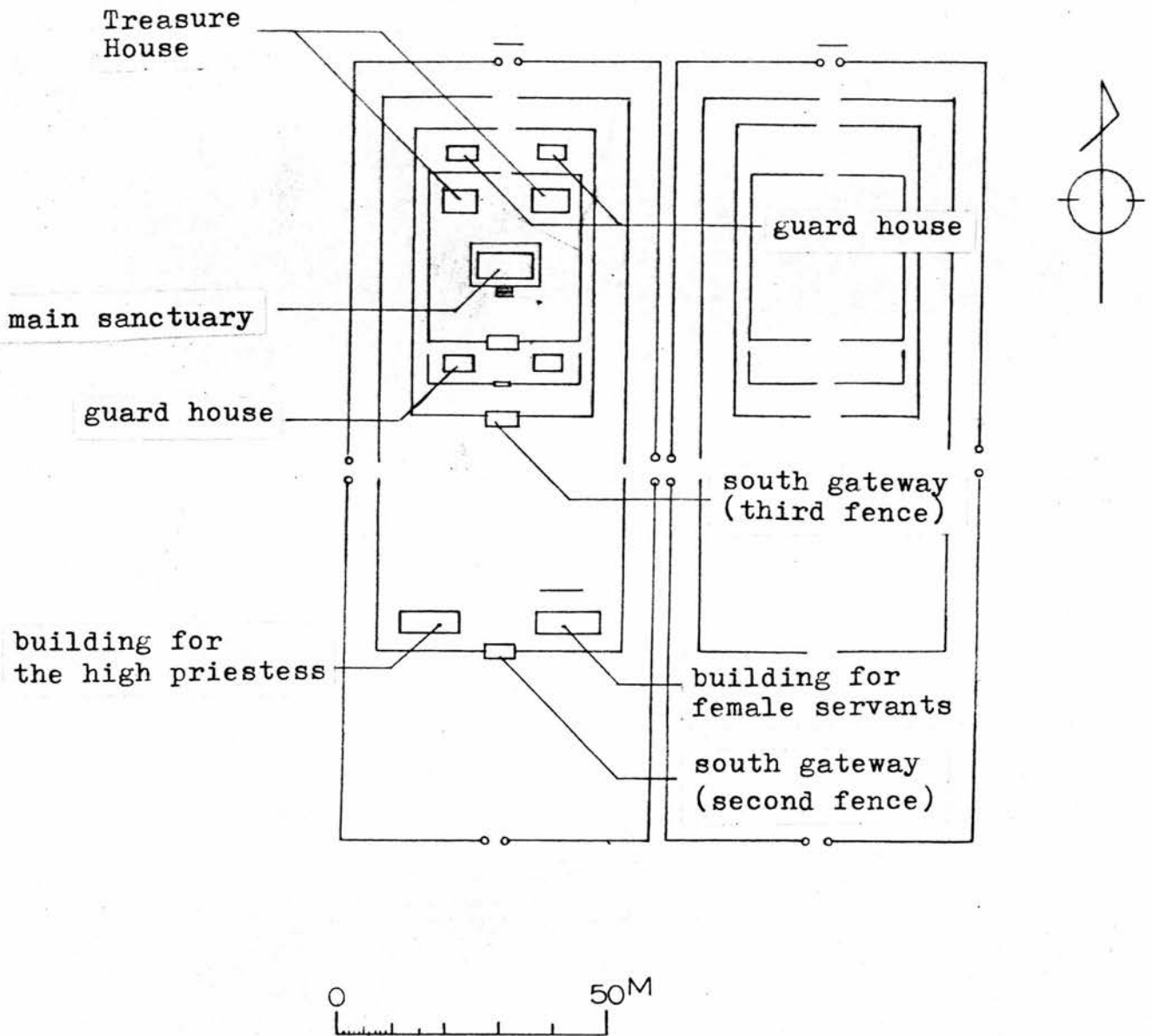


Fig.27 Original 9th century plan of the Naiku proposed by Fukuyama

(Inagaki, 1968, p.177)

century layout of the Naiku proposed by Fukuyama (1972, p. 46). The innermost area was (and still is) a space assigned to the deity and covered with white gravel, a symbol of purity and its preservation. The main sanctuary was protected by four guard houses (at present there are only two guard houses to the north and south). As we have noted earlier in 2.1, the south gateway of the second fence was the place of worship for the public. It is also known that the relatively large space between the second and third fences was used for ceremonies, and that only the high-ranking minister chosen by the emperor to act on his behalf was allowed to proceed through the second fence (Shimonaka, 1937, p.10). At the south side of the space there were two buildings assigned to the high priestess (one of the daughters of the emperor) and to her female servants respectively. Now the building for the high priestess has survived as Yojoden, where preparations for the ceremony are made and, in case of rainy weather, where the ceremony itself takes place. We can assume that it was the high priestess who conducted the ceremonies at an early stage and that her building was used in a similar manner to the present Yojoden.

According to the Enryaku Gishiki-cho, at least five annual ceremonies were held in this space, and when the ceremony took place the space was clearly marked off by 64 tree branches (each 1.5m long) stuck in the

ground at the periphery (Fukuyama, 1972, p.45). Thus, in the Ise Shrine there was a division of at least three specific spaces: spaces for the deity, for the emperor (represented by his minister) and for the public respectively, and this hierarchical division of space is still now in effect and unique to the Ise Shrine.

In other state shrines such as the Isonokami Shrine there has been a division of only two spaces: the space assigned to the deity and the space for public worship. We can assume that in the Ise Shrine there was originally a distinction of only two spaces as in the other Shinto shrines, but that as the position of the emperor became firmly established and the Ise acquired the superior position as a national monument enshrining the Imperial ancestry, it became necessary to assign a special space exclusively to the emperor so that his supremacy in the hierarchy would be demonstrated. Historians (e.g. Naoki, 1965, p.356) suggest that the relationship between the Ise Shrine and the Imperial House became closer at the beginning of the sixth century, when the emperor strengthened his power and the custom of sending a royal princess to the shrine as a high priestess was established. It might have been the case that the division of three spaces was made around this period.

Such division of space as we have seen in the Daijo-kyu and the Ise Shrine was also made in the

early Buddhist temples. For example, at Asuka-dera, the first full-scale Buddhist temple in Japan, the inside of the cloister was an inaccessible sanctuary while on ceremonial occasions the emperor stood at the south gate and the officials at the stone-paved area called Ishijiki-hiroba (see details in 3.3). Although ceremonies began to take place inside the cloister in the late seventh to eighth centuries (for a full discussion see Chapter 6), a rigid distinction was always made between the location of the emperor and the royal family, and that of the other participants of the ceremony.

2.9 Ise Shrine

It has been generally agreed among historians (e.g. Naoki, 1965, pp. 357-58) that the present style of the two main sanctuaries of Ise was perfected at the end of the seventh century. The points on which historians normally found their argument as to the date of the present Ise can be summarised as follows:

- (1) The practice of rebuilding the Naiku, Geku and other buildings every twenty years was commenced in 685.
- (2) It is under the reign of Emperor Temmu (673-86) that the status of the emperor was established as an absolute monarch (see also 6.1). In this period in order to maintain the supremacy of the Imperial House, the work related to the systematisation of the corpus

of Japanese mythology was initiated as a means of enforcing the ideology of Imperial authority; hence the compilation of the Kojiki and the Nihon Shoki.

(3) In 683 Temmu ordered the repair and remodelling work of the main Shinto shrines throughout the country. Surely, the Ise Shrine, as the supreme shrine enshrining the Imperial ancestry, must have undergone extensive improvements to gain the same level of architectural sophistication as those of the Buddhist temples being constructed in the Asuka area.

(4) In the civil war of 672, in which Temmu contended with his nephew for succession to the throne after the death of Emperor Tenchi, Temmu gained a victory due to the aid given by forces from the eastern provinces including the Ise region. This was taken as a sign of divine assistance from deities of the Ise Shrine, and a close relationship was established between the shrine and the Imperial House. As a result, Temmu resurrected the custom of sending a royal princess to Ise, which had been discontinued since the reign of Empress Suiko (592-628).

Although the historians' argument seems to be convincing, no attempt has ever been made to prove it from the architectural point of view. As has been mentioned before (see 2.1) architectural critics usually describe Ise mainly as a perfect example of the pre-Buddhist tradition while they may admit that the present style of

Ise was completed around the period proposed by the historians. In this section we shall present architectural evidence to support the historians' view by indicating that the design techniques employed in the main sanctuaries of the Ise Shrine are similar to those in some of the Japanese Buddhist temples of the seventh to eighth centuries.

We have already referred to the Chinese influence recognised on one of the decorative elements of Ise's main sanctuary: multi-coloured metal ornaments called hoju on the veranda railings (see 2.1). There are, however, two conflicting views of the date of the hoju. While Kawazoe (1965, p.169) suggests that the hoju is the result of Chinese influence after the introduction of Buddhism (538) because hoju similar to that at Ise decorate the buildings and bronze coffins of the Tang Dynasty (618-907). Ito (1967, p.31) maintains that the hoju which is not found in Buddhist architecture, shows a pre-Buddhist Continental influence. Therefore, the hoju cannot be a conclusive evidence of the influence of Buddhist architecture.

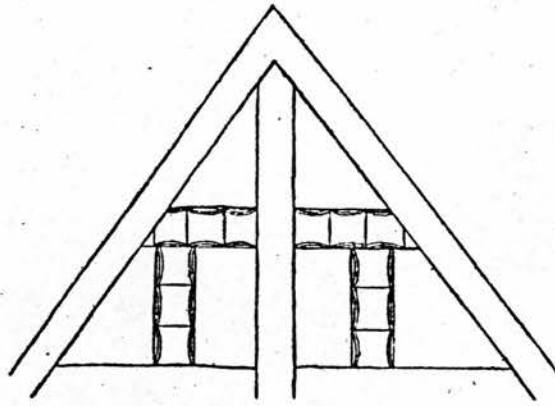
Only one substantial piece of evidence has been so far produced as to the influence of Buddhist architecture on the Ise main sanctuary. Fukuyama (1972, p.40) points out that the gable structure of the Ise main sanctuary is similar to that of the Kondo (Main Hall)

of the First Horyu-ji, Buddhist temple built in 607 (Compare Fig. 28 and Fig. 29).²⁷ In both buildings there is a beam and a subsidiary post placed in an 'L' shape between the gable end and the main post.

The evidence we would like to consider now is concerned with the technical consideration to the external effect of the building. Fig. 30 is a picture of the Naiku main sanctuary taken from the rear. We have discovered that in this picture the whole structure fits in with the grid based on the unit, which is half the measurement of space between the pillars. The building itself can be isolated horizontally between four parts: (a) the lowest part which consists of the floor-supporting pillars and the veranda railings, (b) the second lowest part which consists of the wall boards and the door, (c) the thatched part of the roof, and (d) the roof decoration such as the chigi, katsuogi and the ridge piece; and the proportion of each part is 2:1:2:2. Furthermore, the whole structure falls within a rectangle and the ratio of the two sides of the rectangle is $\sqrt{2}:1$.

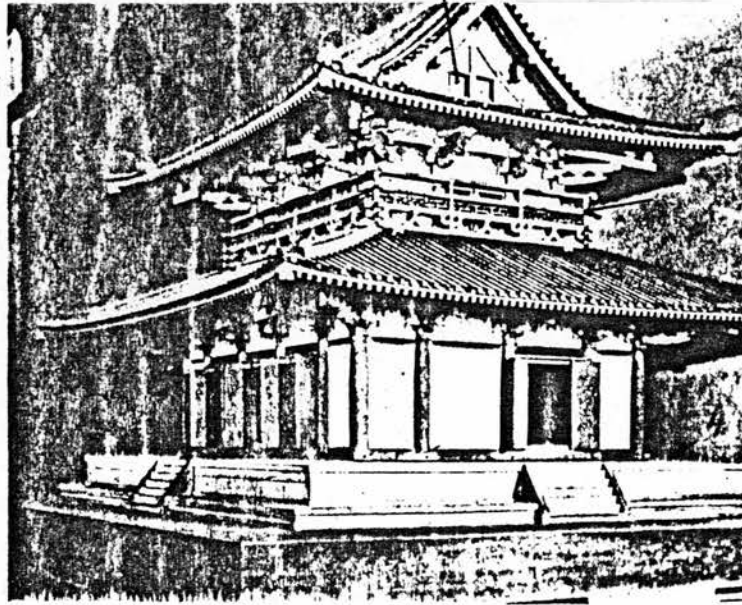
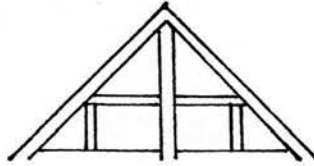
As the front side and back side of the main sanctuary are symmetrical about the east-west axis,

27. Fukuyama, however, does not extend his discussion to the Buddhist architectural influence on the Ise Shrine.



7. 内宮正殿妻飾の図 (続群書類従本天地麗氣記第二)

Fig.28 Beam construction in gable apex at the Ise Shrine Naiku sanctuary
(Fukuyama, 1972, p.41)



20 金堂復原模型

Fig.29 The same seen in the Kondo(Main Hall) of the First Horyu-ji reconstructed by Kuno

(Kuno, 1966, p.160)

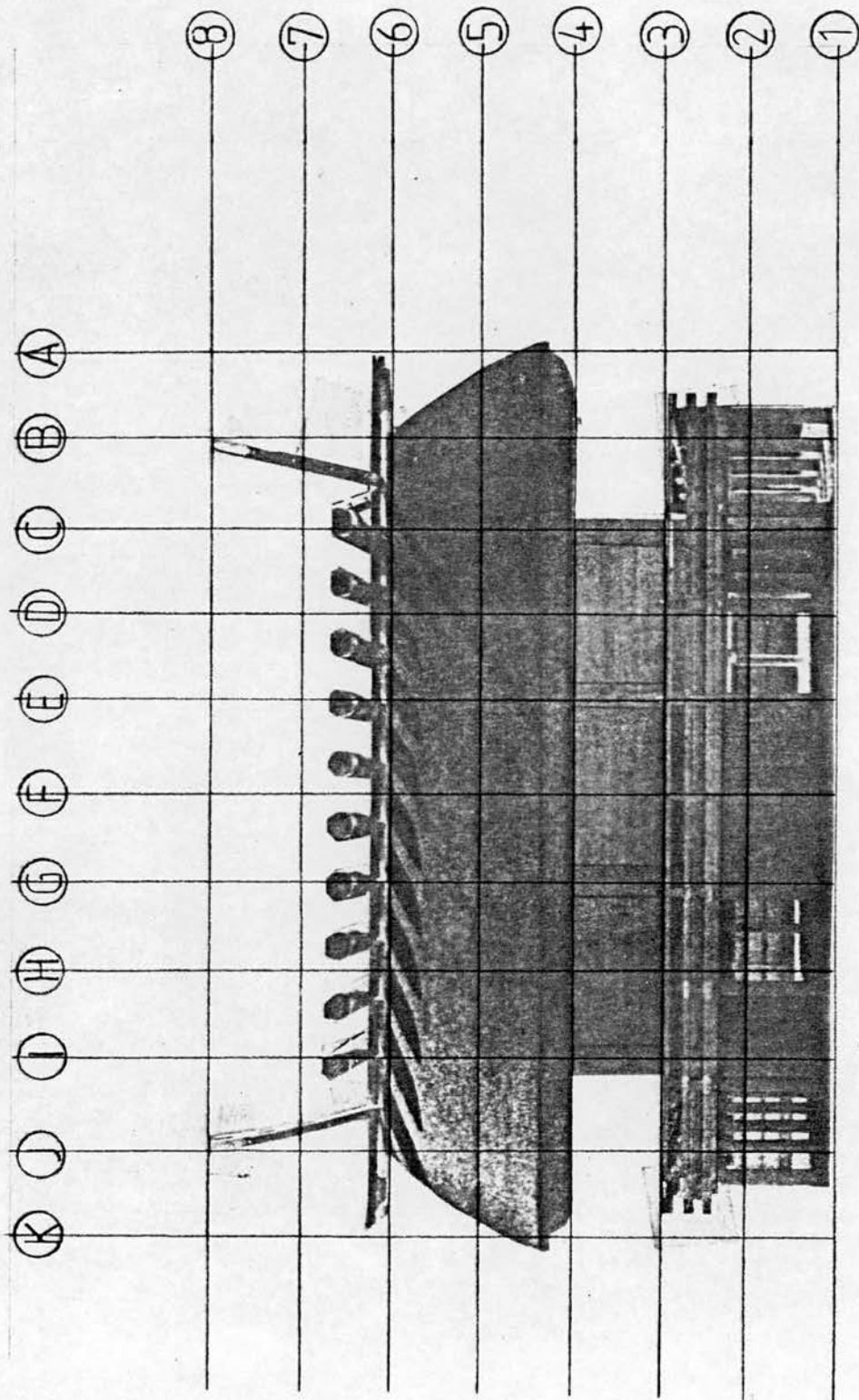


Fig.30 Picture of the Ise Naiku main sanctuary taken
from the rear

(based on Drexler, 1955, p.33)

excluding the staircase leading to the veranda at the front, we can assume that the front view and the back view of the building are almost identical. In Fig. 31 the distance between the centre of the Naiku main sanctuary and the spot from which the same front view as in Fig. 30 can be obtained was calculated at 27.3m. This means that Fig. 30 represents the front view obtained from the gateway of the third fence of the Naiku sanctuary. If we recall that the space between the second and third fences was used for ceremonies attended by the high ranking minister on behalf of the emperor (see 2.8), the importance of the south gateway of the third fence is obvious: this spot was the place of worship assigned to the emperor or the official worshipper representing him.

If we look at the front elevation of the main sanctuary of the Naiku (see Fig. 32), however, we shall notice that the whole structure does not fit in with a grid with clearly proportioned measurements while the end elevation is controlled by a grid different from the one in Fig. 30 (see Fig. 33). It will be evident now that the wooden framework of the end was essentially structural while the grid in Fig. 30 was employed to enhance the view of the building obtained from a particular spot. It is at this point that we notice the similarity between the Ise main sanctuary and the Second Horyu-ji. There is the same employment of grid

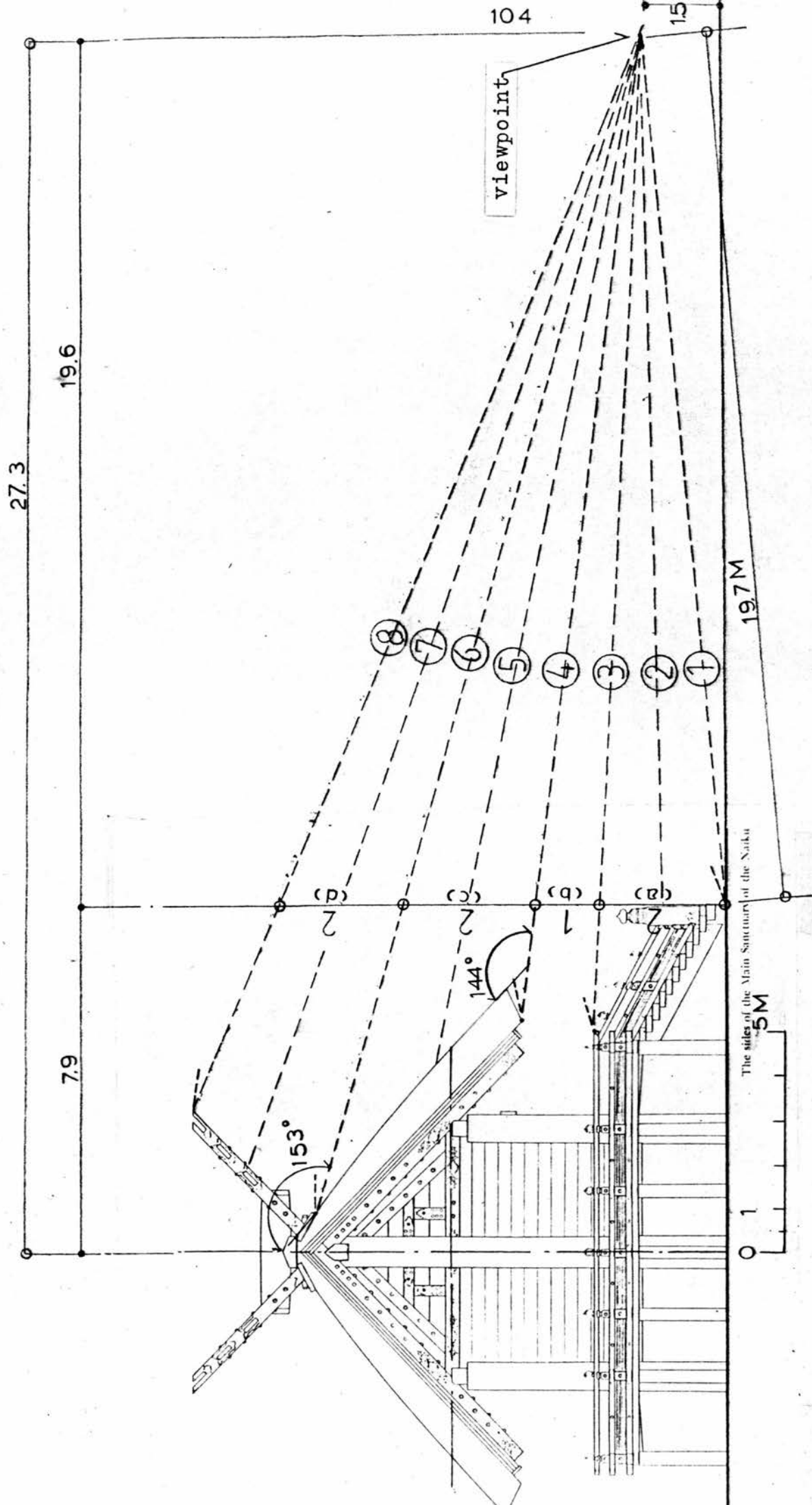
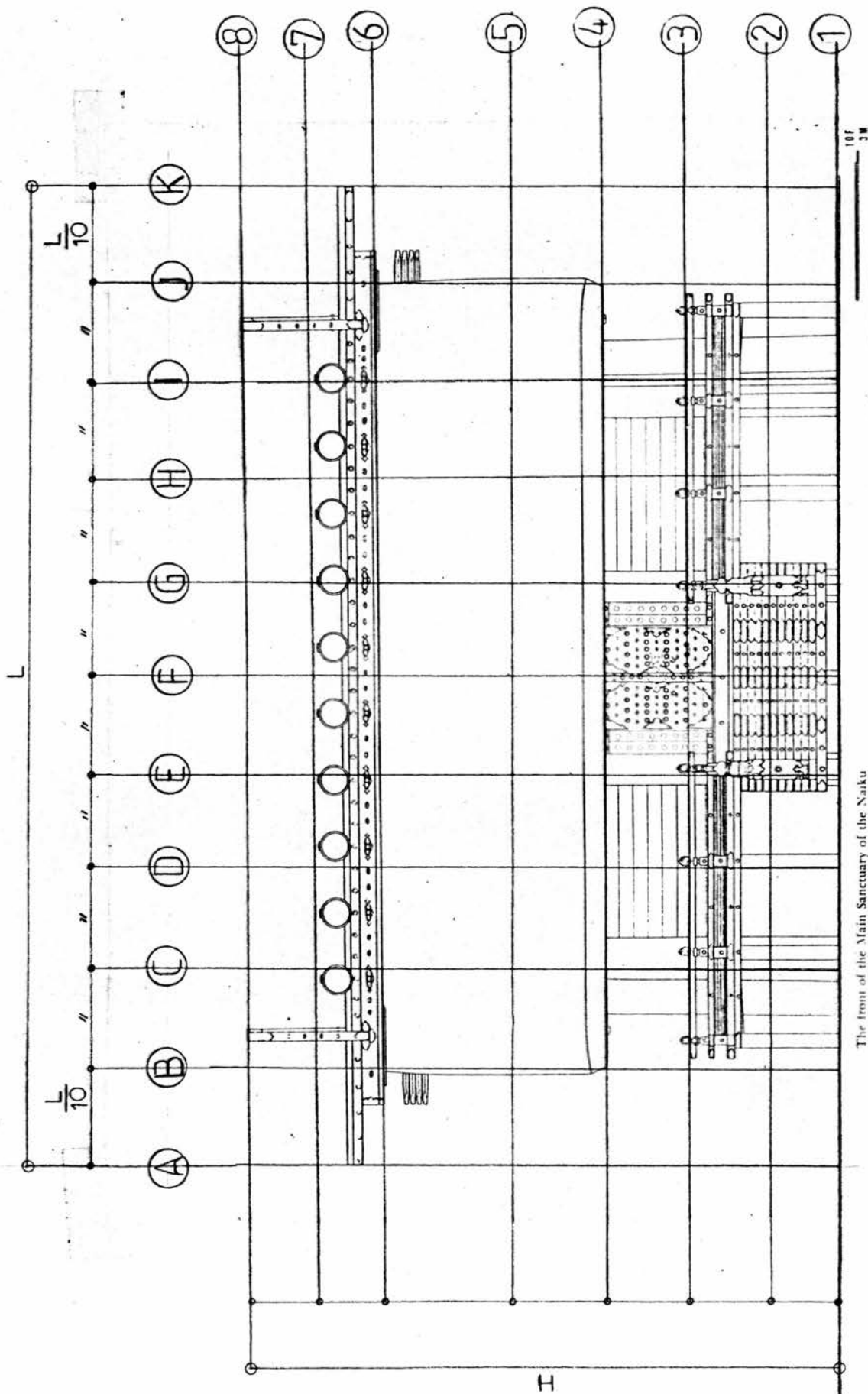


Fig.31 The sides of the Main Sanctuary of the Naiku

(based on Tange, 1965, p. 109)



The front of the Main Sanctuary of the Naiku

Fig.32 The front elevation of the Main Sanctuary of the Naiku

(based on Tange, 1965, p. 108)

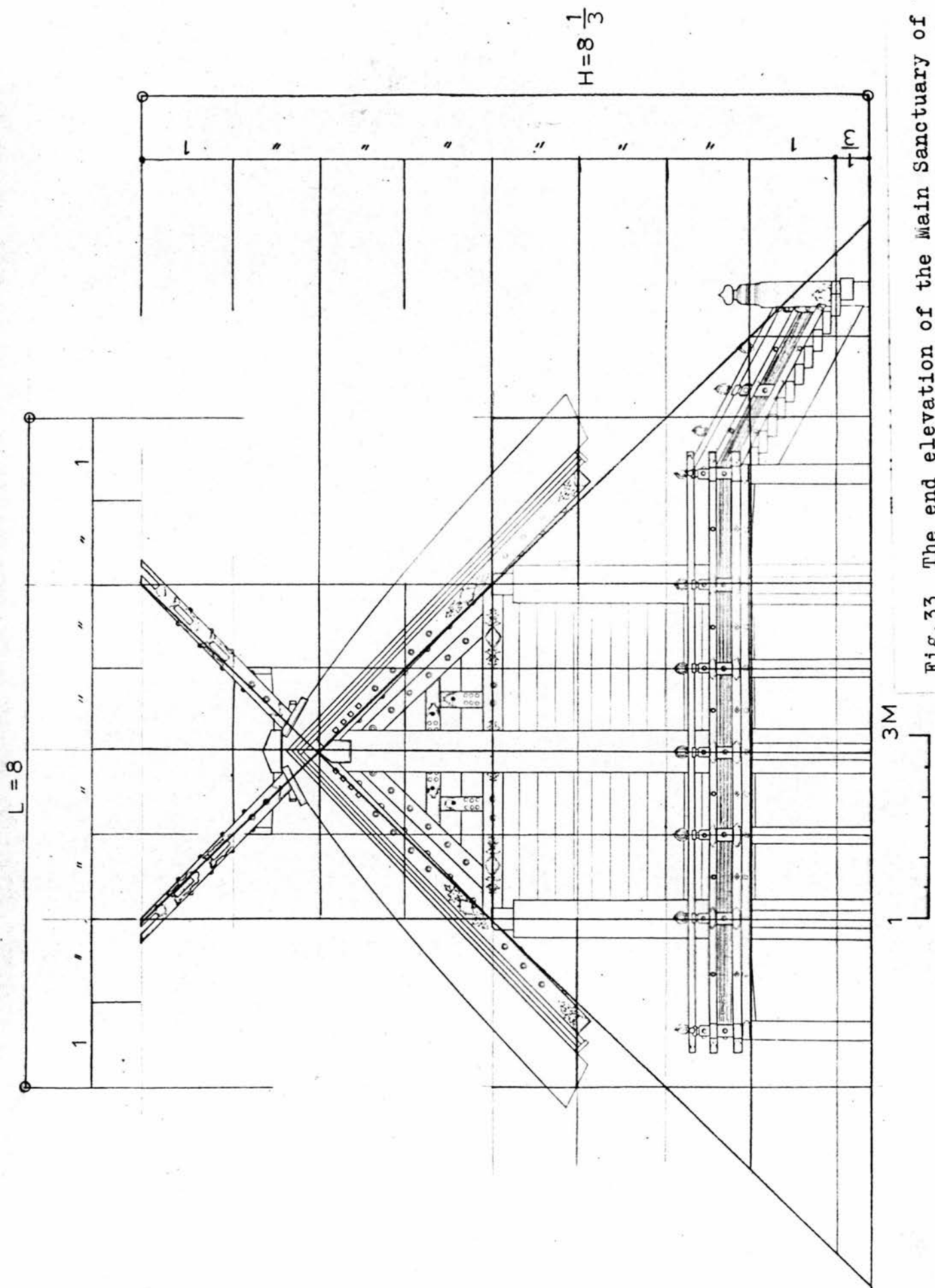


Fig.33 The end elevation of the Main Sanctuary of the Naiku (based on Tange, 1965, p.109).

to produce a harmonious visual effect in the front elevation of the temple complex (see details in 5.4).

In order to understand how the present well-balanced style of the two main sanctuaries of the Ise Shrine developed, a comparison with two of its supposed original forms has been made. Fig. 34 shows the front and end elevations of the main sanctuary of the Aramatsuri Shrine of the ninth century. As we have noted before (see 2.5), it is believed that until the mid-14th century the main sanctuary of the subsidiary shrines at Ise was constructed in the style of raised-floor granaries represented in Fig. 34, and that the buildings of the Naiku and the Geku are also likely to have been built in this fashion at a very early stage.

From Fig. 34 it is clear that in the front elevation the whole structure does not fit in with the grid as in the case of the Naiku main sanctuary. The spot from which a clearly-proportioned front view could be obtained was approximately 10.25m from the centre of the building, which coincides with the place of worship at the present Aramatsuri Shrine. The proportions of the four parts of the building mentioned before (see p.100) turned out to be from the lower part, 1:1:2:2. The ratio of the two sides of the rectangle within which the building seen from the viewpoint fell, was approximately 1:1.05. Therefore,

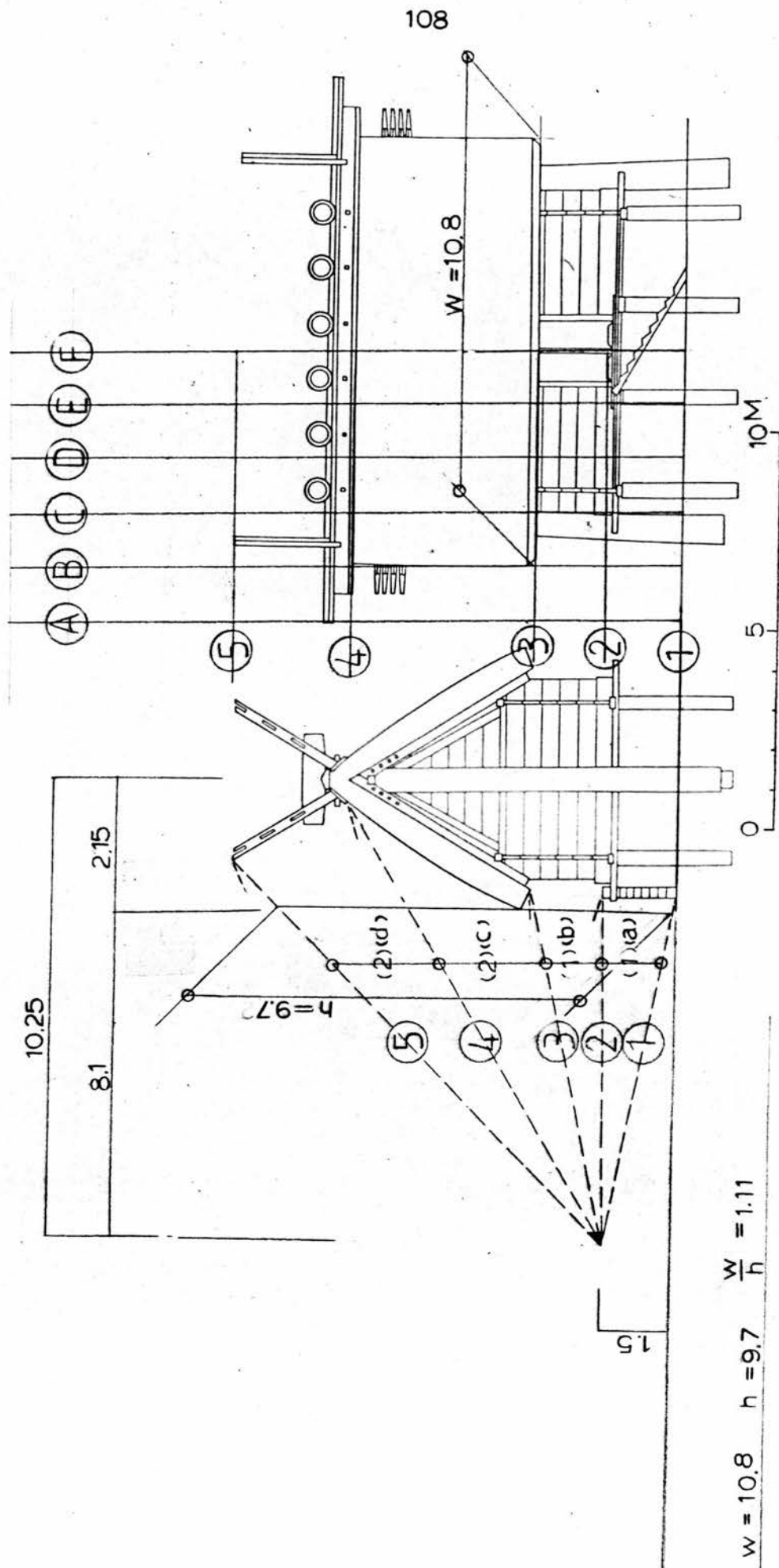


Fig.34 The front and end elevations of the Aramatsuri Shrine main sanctuary
(based on Tange,1965,p. 191)

the outline of the front view of the building was nearer to the shape of a square in the ninth century Aramatsuri main sanctuary than in the present Naiku main sanctuary.

Another building which is indicative of the original form of the Ise main sanctuaries is the present Mikeden (see 2.5). From Fig. 35 we can see in this case, too, the front elevation does not fit in with the grid. We can, however, see from Fig. 36 that the proportions of the four parts of the building seen from the supposed viewpoint (the spot 13.3m from the centre of the building) is from the lower part, 1.8:1:2:2, which is near to the corresponding proportion of the Naiku main sanctuary. The ratio of the two sides of the rectangle within which falls the outline of the building seen from the viewpoint is 1:1.33 (see Fig. 37).

Although both the ninth century Aramatsuri main sanctuary and the present Mikeden have the same structure of primitive raised-floor granaries, it seems that the latter represents a more developed style than the former. In the Aramatsuri main sanctuary the roof had little overhang while in both the Mikeden and the Naiku main sanctuary the roof projects far out. The ratio of the two sides of the rectangle within which the outline of the building falls at the viewpoint

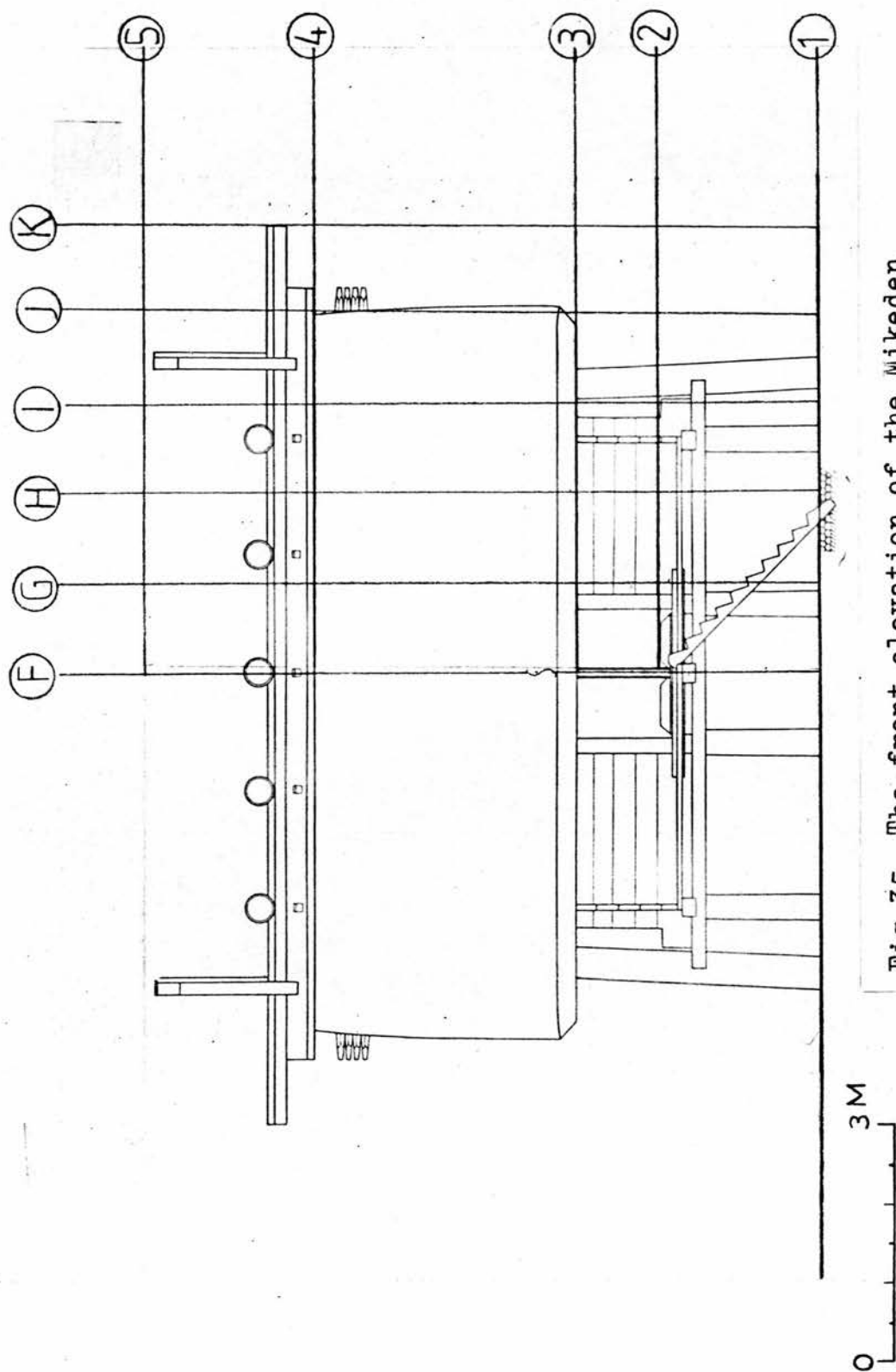


Fig.35 The front elevation of the Mikeden
(based on Tange, 1965, p. 158)

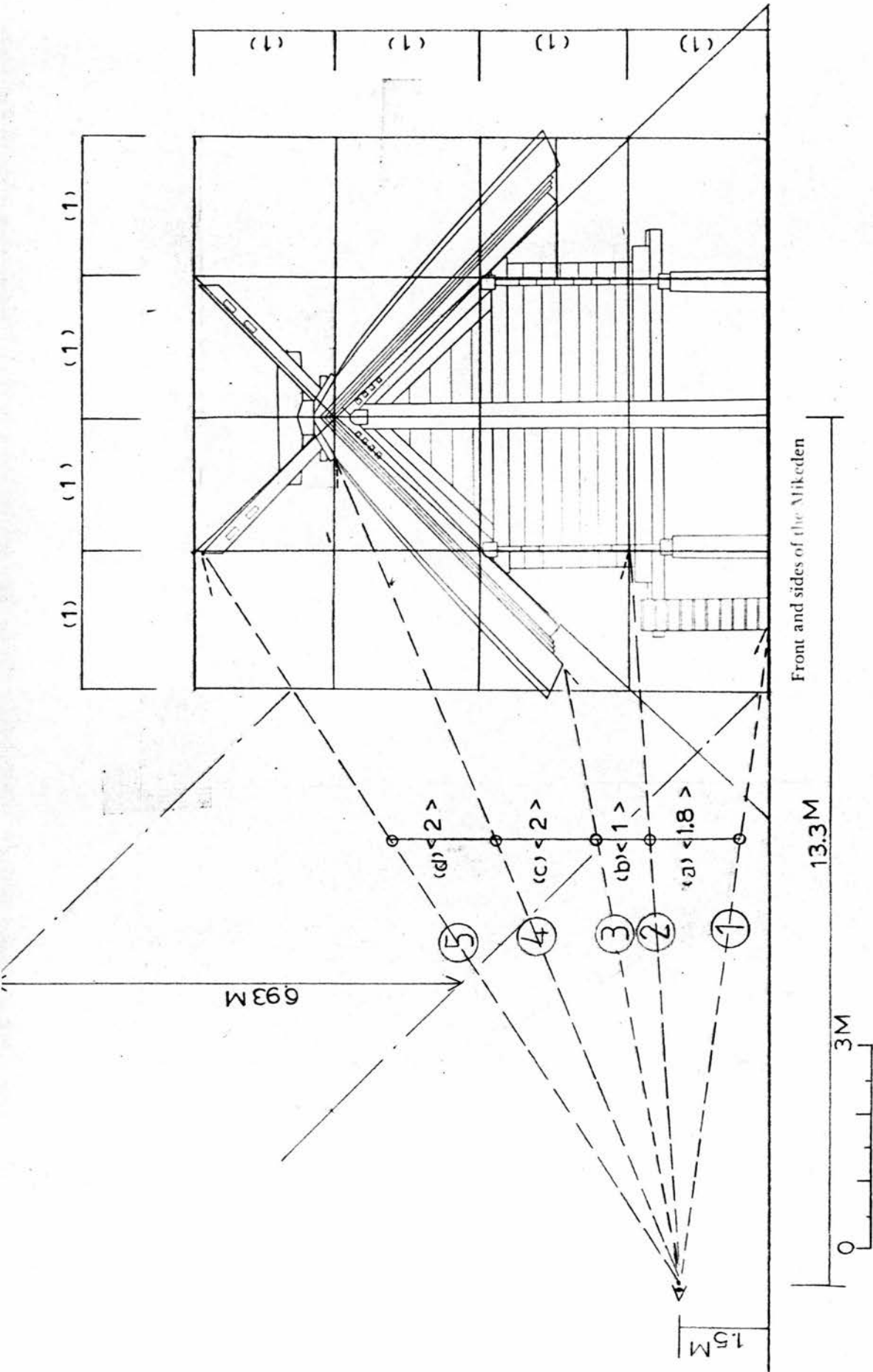


Fig.36 The end elevation of the Mikeden

(based on Tange, 1965, p. 158)

$$\frac{h}{w} = 6.93$$

$$\frac{w}{h} = 1.337$$

$$w = 9.27$$

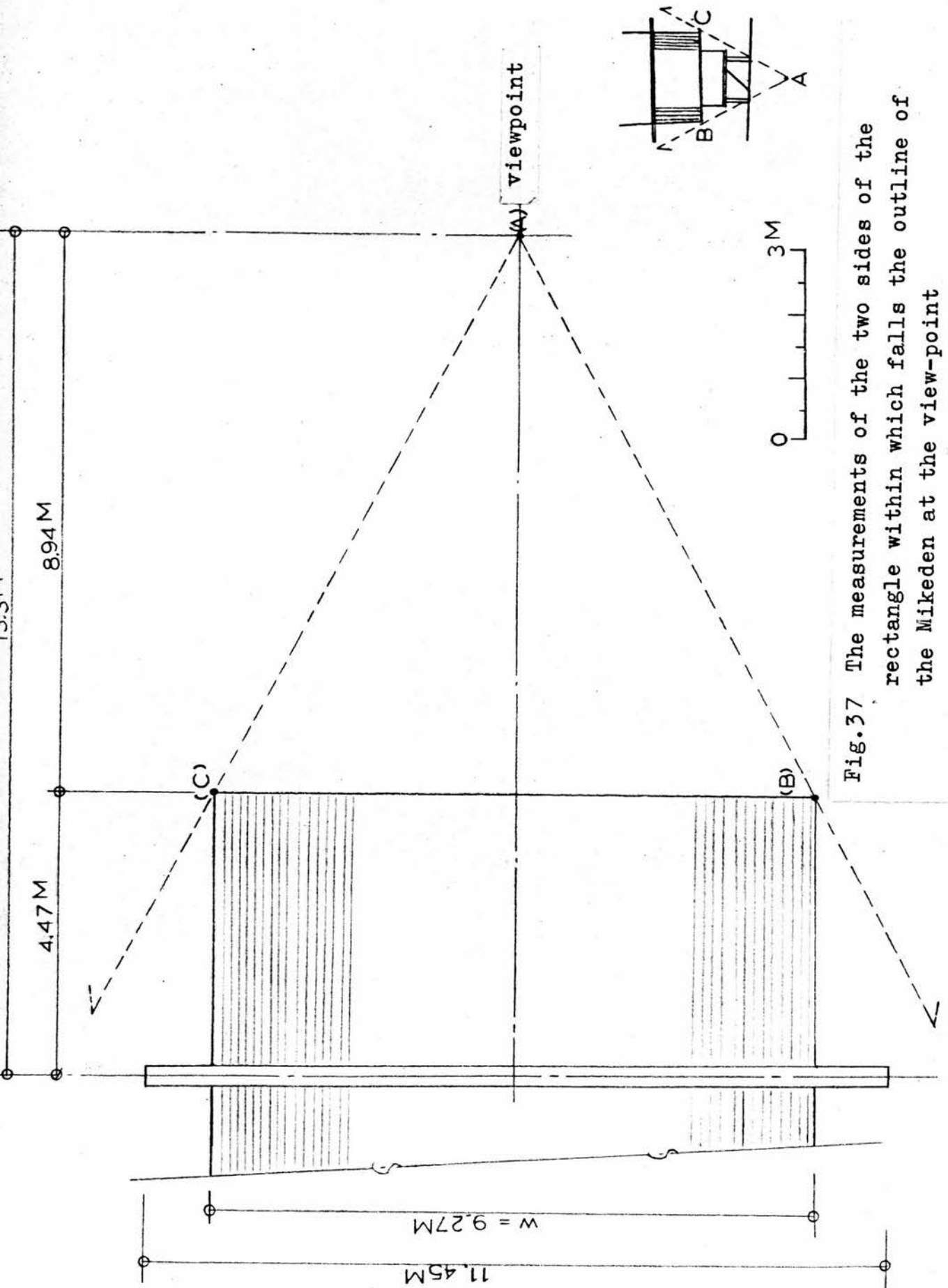


Fig.37 The measurements of the two sides of the rectangle within which falls the outline of the Mikeden at the view-point

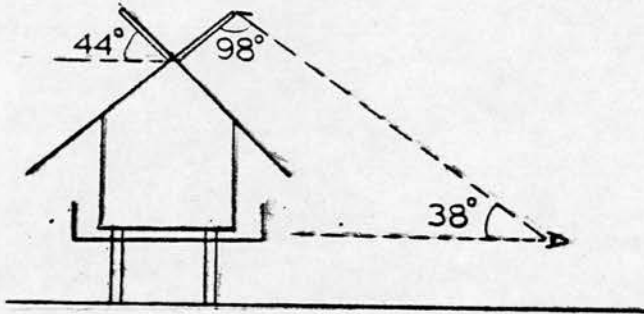
becomes nearer to the golden section in the Mikeden than in the Aramatsuri main sanctuary. Furthermore, in the front view of the Aramatsuri main sanctuary obtained from the viewpoint, the proportion of the lowest part (space beneath the building enclosed by pillars) was relatively small, so that the whole building gave a heavy impression. In the Mikeden, on the other hand, the ratio of the lowest part was increased by 80% but this time the appearance of the building became somewhat unstable. In order to solve this problem a veranda was attached to the Naiku main sanctuary. While the ratio of the floor-supporting space was further increased than in the Mikeden, the external view of the building acquired more stability.

It seems evident that the veranda of the Naiku main sanctuary has no practical function as no access seems to have been made to the area further than the south gateway of the third fence. In terms of the structure it is also inconceivable, as Kawazoe (1965, p. 169) points out, that the veranda served any practical purpose in, for example, religious ceremonies, because of the thick munamochi bashira penetrating the middle of the verandas at each end. Thus, the function of the veranda is genuinely aesthetic; to round off and complete form and style. It should be noted that the veranda functions in a similar way to enhance the external effect in the Kondo of the Second Horyu-ji

(see details in 5.5).

Apart from the veranda two other elements seem to play an important role in the formation of the well-balanced style of the Naiku main sanctuary: they are the chigi and the ridge piece (see Fig. 38). At the Naiku main sanctuary the chigi cross, both having the same elevation of 44° (see Fig. 39).

Fig. 39. The chigi of the Naiku main sanctuary seen from the viewpoint.



The elevation of the top of the chigi from the viewpoint indicated is 38° . Therefore, the viewing direction meets the top of the chigi at an angle of 98° . This would mean

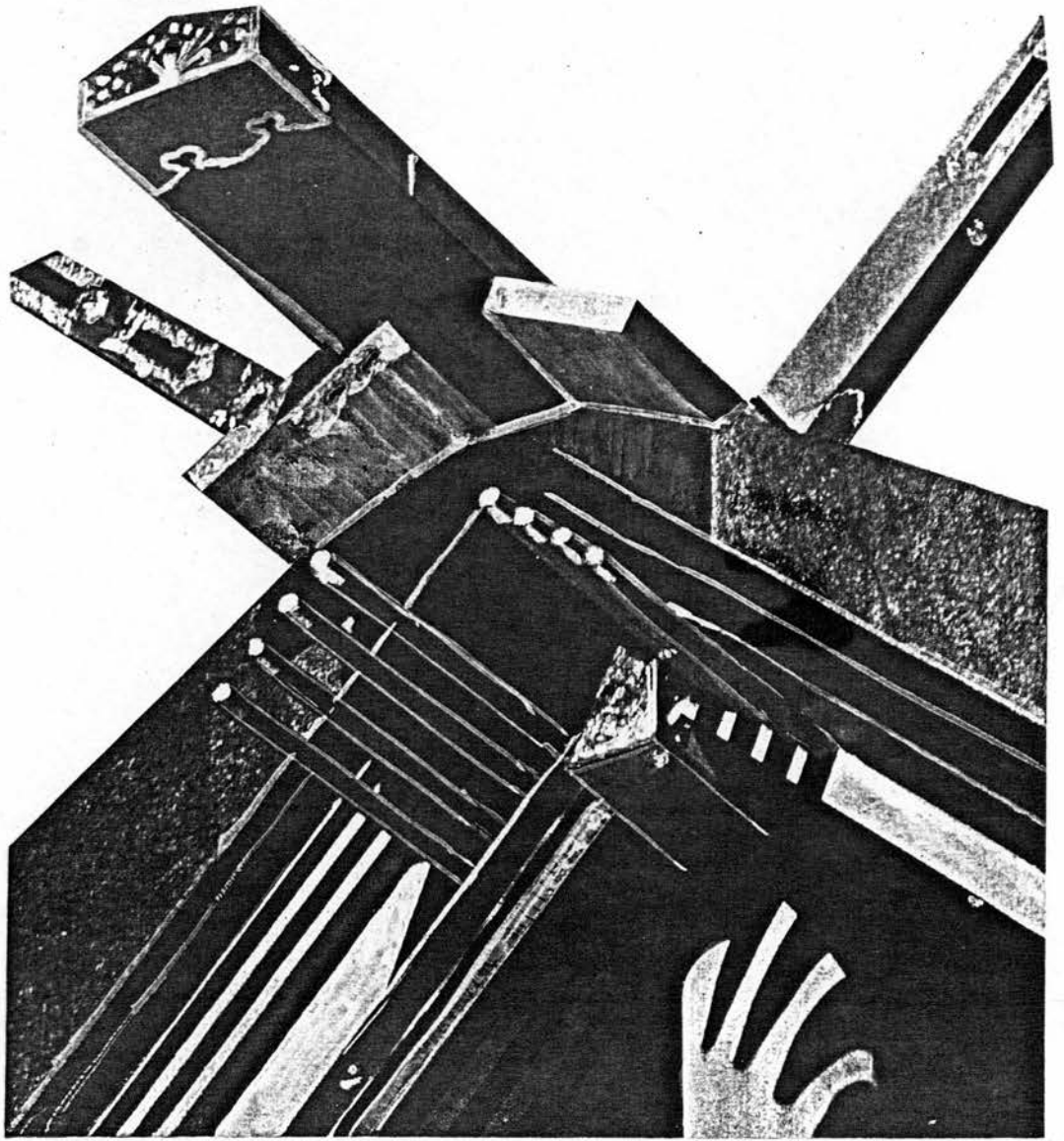


Fig.38 The chigi and ridge piece of the Naiku Main Sanctuary

(Tange, 1965, p. 118)

that the actual length of the chigi is represented almost as the height of the chigi in the view and thus, the chigi looks as if it projects higher at the view-point than it actually does (compare Fig. 30 and Fig. 32). From Fig. 40 we can also see that from the viewpoint the chigi appears to incline outward at an angle of 15° . Therefore as seen in Fig. 30, the top of the chigi falls in with the point (B)-(8) and (J)-(8). At the top of the ridge the viewing direction and the slant of the roof meet at an angle of 153° , but at the bottom of the ridge at an angle of 144° (see Fig 31). Therefore, while in the front elevation the roof is represented almost as rectangular, at the viewpoint it becomes a trapezium: the roof looks narrower as it rises. The effect of the splayed chigi not only gives a three-dimensional depth to the view but also maintains an adequate balance between the thatched part (c) and the roof decoration (d), as well as between the roof as a whole (c + d) and the space beneath (a + b).

In the front elevation of the Naiku main sanctuary the ridge piece projects horizontally from the end of the eaves by one-tenth of the measurement of the width of the building. From Fig. 32, however, we can see that the ridge piece seems the same length as the eaves from the viewpoint. In fact, in Fig. 30 the edges of the ridge piece fall in with the point (A)-(6) and (K)-(6). Thus, a careful consideration has been

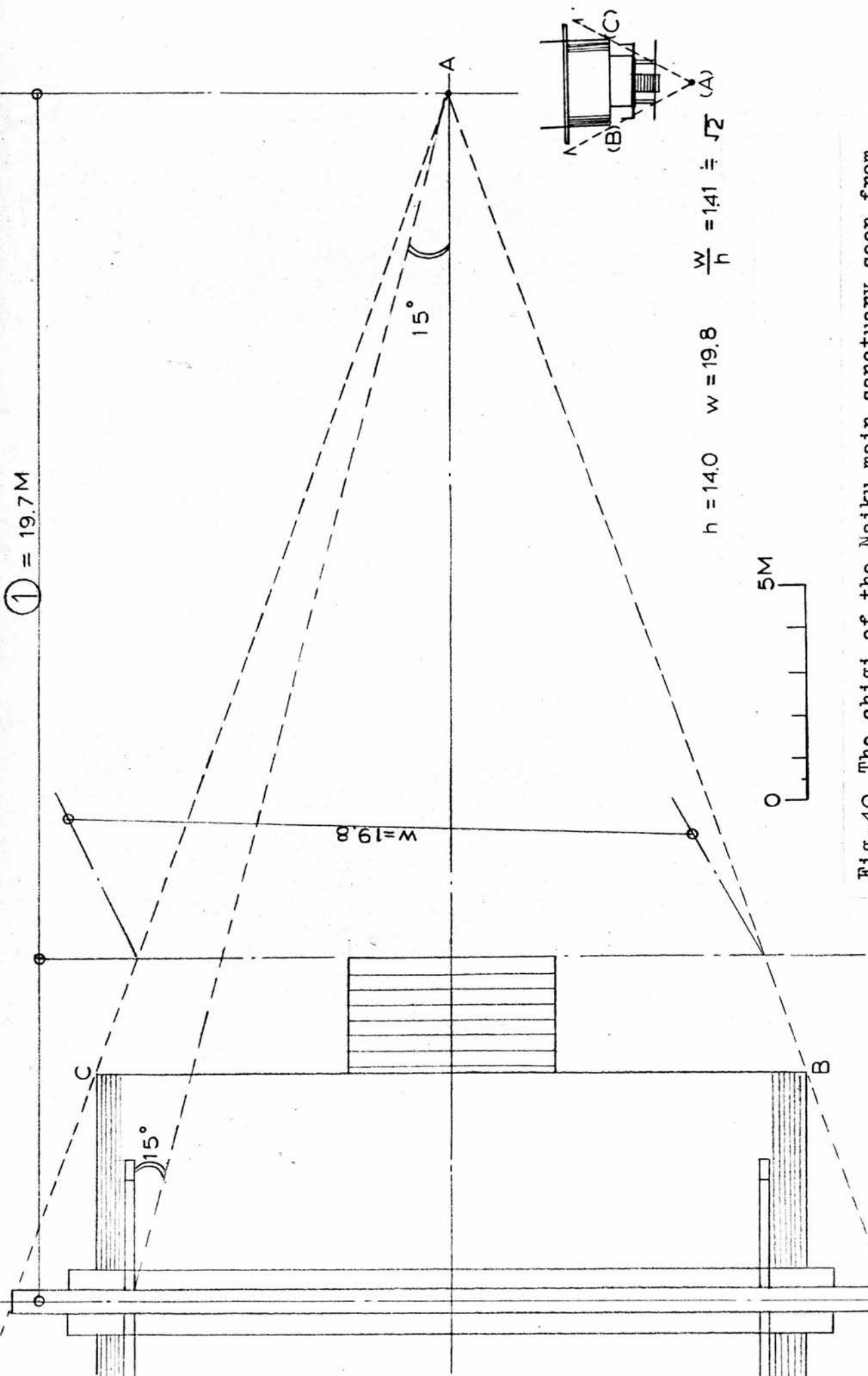


Fig. 40 The chigi of the Naiku main sanctuary seen from the viewpoint (b)

given to the chigi and the ridge piece in order to ensure that the whole structure fits in well with the grid seen from the viewpoint.

From the discussion presented so far in this section it will now be clear that the buildings of the Ise Shrine were designed to be looked at from a particular viewpoint. The plan is arranged so that the shrine is seen only from the front and everyone sees the shrine from the same direction, but the view obtained depends on the position of the viewer in relation to the four fences. Fig. 41 shows clearly that the difference in hierarchy is represented by the width of the visual range. The shaded areas indicate respectively the areas which are out of sight of the common people and the official worshipper appointed by the emperor. We shall find out later in the following chapters that the early Japanese Buddhist temples such as Asuka-dera and the Second Horyu-ji were also designed as national monuments to be looked at from a distance; though the distance between the main building of these temples and the viewpoint is longer than in the case of the Ise Shrine (see detailed in 3.3 and 5.3).

Furthermore, it should be noted that the south gateway of the second fence is curtained with white silk so that the ordinary visitor can see the shrine only through this screen (see Fig. 42). The screen must have

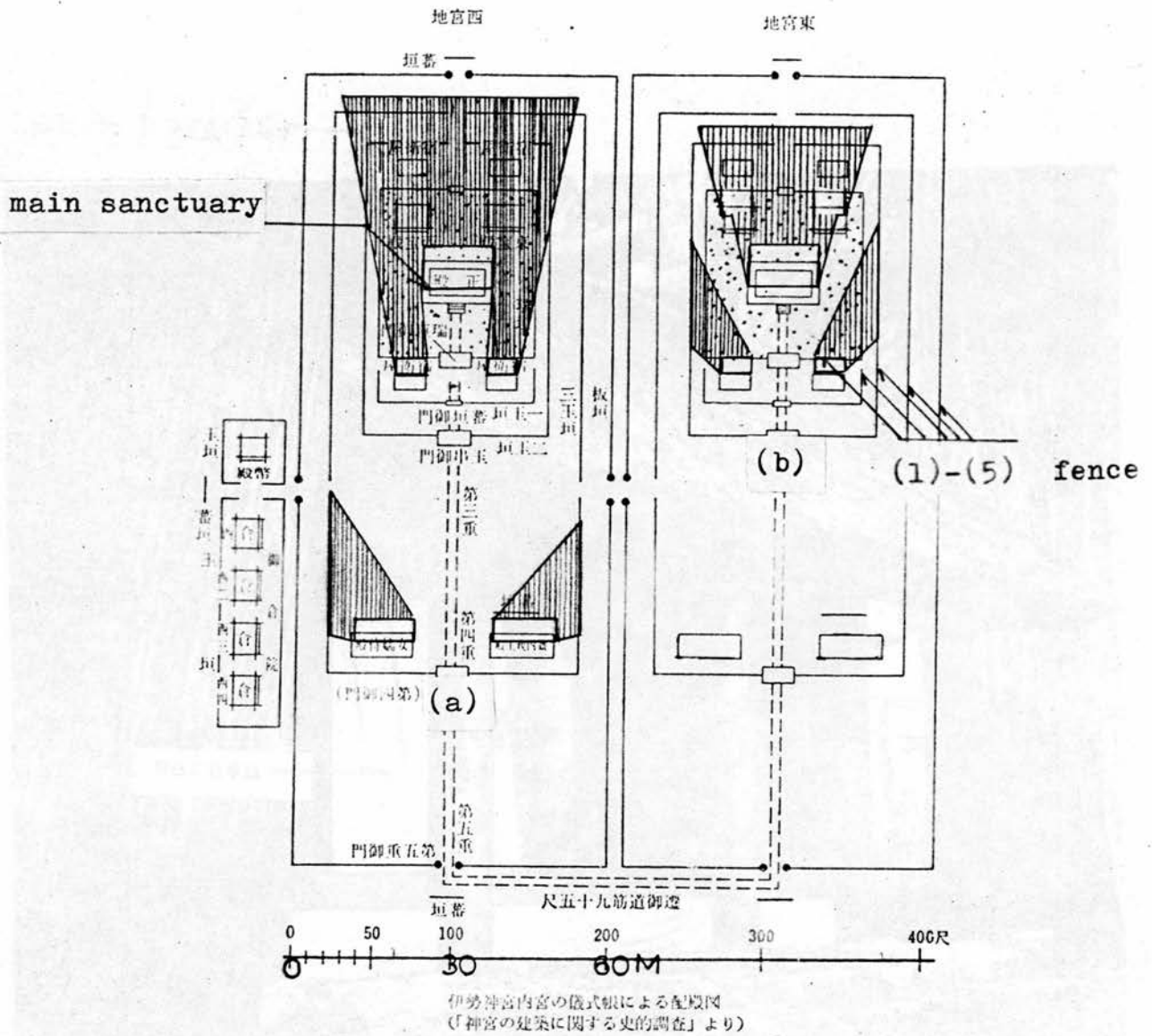


Fig.41 Difference in visual range at two viewpoints of the Naiku Main Sanctuary

area out of sight from the viewpoint

(based on Fig.27)

(a) viewpoint for the common people

(b) viewpoint for the official worshipper

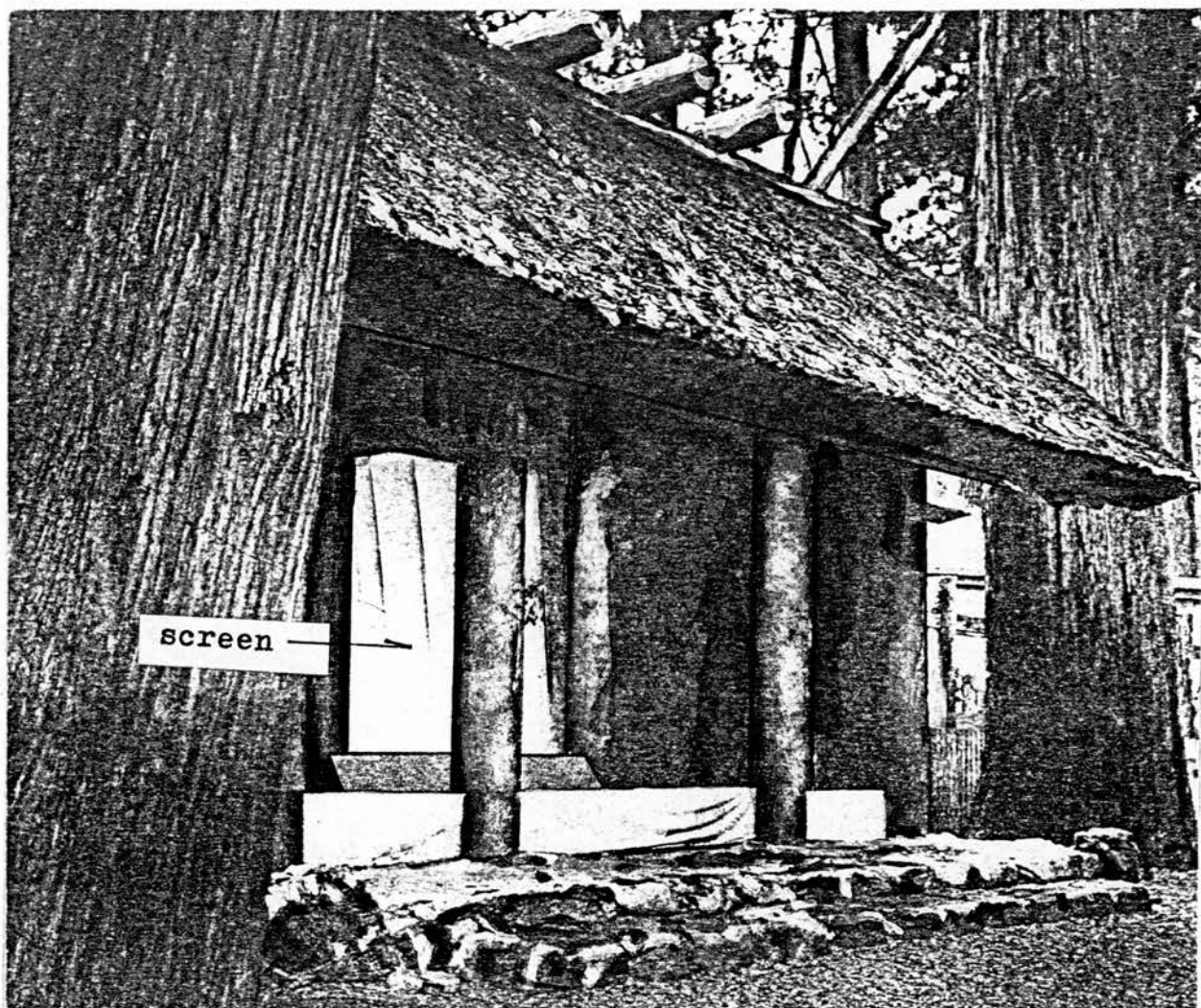


Fig.42 The south gateway of the second fence
curtained with white silk

(Drexler, 1955, p. 24)

acted as a kind of veil between the ordinary, everyday world and the holy space dedicated to the Great Deity. The Imperial ancestry had to be mysterious .

In this section we have seen that a meticulous well-calculated consideration was given in the design of the Naiku main sanctuary in order to create the visual effect, where 'simplicity and forcefulness are complemented by unexpected refinements' (Soper, 1955, p.166). Surely, a model must have been constructed to achieve such refinement of the style in the front view obtained from a particular spot. We can suggest, therefore, that either Korean architects had a hand in the building of Ise, or that, more probably, Japanese architects had acquired the more sophisticated workmanship of the Continental builders by the end of the seventh century. The main sanctuaries of the Naiku and the Geku still bear the outlines of the ancient storehouse as in the other buildings of the Ise Shrine, but in their detailing they represent highly advanced imported techniques. This will be why the Ise Shrine, as well as the Second Horyu-ji, represents a high-water mark in classical Japanese civilization.

2.10 Conclusions

In this chapter we have studied major architectural concepts of Japanese pre-Buddhist periods, concentrating upon the Ise Shrine as the central

architectural edifice incorporating formal and functional elements which had their roots in ancient agricultural and tribal ages. We have seen the origin of the Shinto Shrine in the idea of the iwasaka or shinchi, the space set aside as an abode of a god. In the ancient agricultural age beginning around B.C.300, man came to conceive and worship gods in terms of the space area in which they were believed to be and live. This Japanese approach to making space tangible involved defining, marking off and limiting space in nature, and, as Tange (1965, p.26) points out, the idea of symbolising the supernatural through spacial form was bound to develop hand in hand with space in architecture.

Both the iwasaka and shinchi were two-dimensional representations of god, but with the expansion of the power of the Yamato clan who adopted the sky-god myths, a three dimensional form, a sakaki tree and the pillar, acquired religious as well as political significance. The pillar especially became a symbol not only of the god but also of the power of the political ruler. Initially, the pillar was a separate object because there was no structural expertise and understanding, but as knowledge of building techniques were acquired, the pillar was used as an element of the building while retaining its significance as a symbol of Imperial power. We have seen examples of such perpendicular symbolism in the two types of pillar unique to the Ise Shrine: the

shin-no-mihashira which is the central object of worship at Ise and the munamochi bashira which is structurally unnecessary. We have also studied another three-dimensional representation of the Imperial power, the mound-tomb. A comparison between the mound of Emperor Nintoku and that of the Shi-huang-di of ancient China made it clear that the Japanese Imperial mound was essentially symbolic and the principal consideration was given to its external effect.

From the account given in the Nihon Shoki the origin of the Ise Shrine can be traced back to the end of the third century, when the himorogi to worship the Sun Goddess was transferred to the Ise region where many nature gods associated with agriculture had been worshipped. Although we do not know whether the himorogi at this stage meant simply a sakaki tree or a single pillar or a temporary shrine, we can assume that the Ise Shrine represents the integration of the sky religion of the Yamato, derived from the northern Altaic shamanism and the ground religion, indigenous to ancient Japanese agricultural communities. The two Great Deities enshrined in the Naiku and the Geku symbolise each culture respectively.

We have studied architectural evidence indicating that the basic form of the Ise Shrine buildings derives from the form of the granaries. When, however, we

considered the historical process of the development of the storehouse, which was closely related to the expansion of the Imperial power, it did not seem to have been the case that a primitive granary developed straight into the national monument as we see it today. Rather, there seemed to have been an intermediary stage called miyake in the development of the shrine from a storehouse. The miyake was a multi-purpose storehouse developed into a local administrative centre of the central government. It will be at this stage that such Imperial symbolism as the chigi and the katsuogi were incorporated into the design of the building.

It is at the end of the seventh century that the present form of the Ise Shrine is believed to have been completed. At that period the absolute status of the emperor was firmly established, and in order to demonstrate the prestige and supremacy of the Imperial House the emperor initiated several governmental projects including the construction of large-scale Buddhist temples and the compilation of the Kojiki and the Nihon Shoki, an attempt to establish an acceptable master-text of Imperial genealogy and history. The extensive re-modelling of the Ise Shrine also seems to have been carried out to give the shrine dignity and splendour appropriate to the building which enshrines the Imperial ancestry. While the Kojiki and the Nihon Shoki were literal expressions of the process of the evolution of Japanese nationhood,

the Ise Shrine was an architectural symbol of the completion of the corpus of Japanese mythology. Perhaps, as Tange says (1965, p.19), the vigorous conceptual ability of the ancient Japanese who fashioned the form of Ise was sustained by the energies released during the nation-building process.

In the style of the present Naiku main sanctuary, we have observed signs of the advanced Continental architectural techniques similar to those employed in the design of some of the Buddhist temples built during the seventh to eighth centuries. Apart from the fact that the Naiku main sanctuary and the First Horyu-ji Kondo had an almost identical gable structure, we closely examined how the geometrical well-proportioned style of the Naiku main sanctuary was achieved based on the grid as in the case of the Second Horyu-ji. Then we reached a conclusion that although the Ise Shrine came into being through the synthesis of pre-Buddhist architectural elements, it was the architectural knowledge and workmanship imported after the arrival of Buddhism, that put the finishing touches to the old Ise and converted it into a handsome building which could stand up in comparison with the Buddhist temples.

It was also made clear that the buildings of the Ise Shrine were designed to be looked at from a particular viewpoint. The viewpoint where the best view of the Naiku main sanctuary was obtained, was not

the south gateway of the second fence, which is the place of worship for the common people, but the south gateway of the third fence, the spot only accessible by the official worshipper who represented the emperor. Such hierarchical division of space of worship is one of the peculiar features of the Ise Shrine which would clearly distinguish it from the other Shinto shrines. The origin of the hierarchical arrangement of space, which also characterises the early Buddhist temples, could be found in the plan of the Daijo-kyu, a temporary shrine used for the most important Shinto ceremony of the nation to recognise the position of a new emperor. In the ceremony the location of the participants was different according to their position in the social hierarchy.

Many architects (e.g. Tange, 1965, p.51) recognise that the impressive beauty of the Ise Shrine lies in that it is a harmonious combination of elementary vigour and aesthetic discipline; it will be even right to consider the Ise form to be the prototype of Japanese architecture. The form of the Ise Shrine underwent a gradual process of stylisation, refinement and completion for centuries. Although the style looks simple, a closer examination will reveal that, in fact, various decorative elements are incorporated into the building. The stylistic features that characterise the architecture of the Ise Shrine - the chigi, katsuogi, munamochi bashira and the

verandas - have a function, but it is aesthetic and expressive, not structural. As Kawazoe (1965, p.169) argues, it will be the way in which these features are included in the consistent unity and harmony of the whole, almost as though they actually did fulfill some structural function, that gives the Ise Shrine its architectural value. We have also seen that in terms of both form and function, at the Ise Shrine emphasis is explicitly placed on the Imperial authority. This will also be a remarkable feature shared by most of the early state temples. In the following chapters we shall study the development of the Japanese Buddhist temple from the sixth to the eighth century and see how the traditional Japanese pre-Buddhist concepts were adopted and preserved in these national monuments.

CHAPTER 3

ASUKA-DERA

CHAPTER 3

ASUKA-DEIRA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

During the fifth and sixth centuries the centralisation of the Imperial government proceeded through the direct control of the miyake, local administrative centres set up in the provinces. Within the government, however, the actual policy-making still had to be based on the mutual agreement of the heads of the powerful clans though the emperor ranked top in the political hierarchy. Under such political circumstances the introduction of Buddhism at the end of the sixth century provided a glorious opportunity for the emperor to establish his substantial influence in the Court and achieve national unity.

In 538 the king of Paekche sent a mission to Emperor Kimmei (539-71) and presented him with Buddhist statues and scriptures (Kitayama, 1968, p.45). As we have already noted in 1.3, after this first official contact between Buddhism and the Japanese Court, Buddhism became a central issue in clan rivalry. The high officials of the Imperial government were divided into two factions: the pro-Buddhist group, headed by the Soga family and the anti-Buddhist group, led by the Mononobe family (Naoki, 1965, p.28). As the Sogas were

expanding their influence by marrying their daughters to emperors, the strife also involved Imperial family members.

The Sogas, based at Asuka near Nara, were one of the two leading clans in the Imperial Court, and they had a close connection with immigrants from the Continent. The history of these immigrants dates back to the end of the fourth century when Japan invaded Korea (see also 2.7). Most of them were skilled workers in clothwork, pottery, forging, carpentry, etc., and they were placed in a special social class as foreign immigrants, and were subclassified according to their occupations (Kitayama, 1968, p.123). They fell directly under the control of the Imperial government, who made it a rule that their skill and knowledge should be transmitted only from one generation to the next within a particular family so that the government could exercise exclusive rights over the foreign skilled workers (ibid, p.123). With the increasing power of the Sogas to back them, the immigrants became an influential group, and they were to play a key role in the early stages of temple construction.

In 587 a crucial battle between pro- and anti-Buddhist factions broke out, and it resulted in a final victory for the Buddhist supporters, which led to the establishment of the Sogas' prominent position in the Imperial Court. The Sogas' victory was of historical significance; the conflict was fought over the issue

of the importation of foreign (Chinese) culture, rather than over the question of the religious freedom of the individual (Soper, 1955, p.172). Since the end of the third century diplomatic relations with China had been severed. The Sogas paved the way for the official adoption by the Imperial power of Buddhism as well as Chinese culture and technology in general (Kitayama, 1968, p.130).

When the conservative Shinto clans had lost their power, the construction of Buddhist temples was officially approved. In the year following the victory, Soga-no-Umako, the then head of the Soga family, set into motion the building of a new Buddhist temple, Asuka-dera (dera = temple) (Kitayama, 1968, p.128). The Sogas and other Buddhist clans had already built several temples, but these were of little significance, either in scale or substance (ibid, p.128). Asuka-dera was the first full-scale Japanese Buddhist temple built in accordance with Continental practices introduced by craftsmen from Korea. The Nihon Shoki records that in 588 two temple carpenters, a bronze caster, four roof tilers and a Buddhist painter arrived in Asuka from Paekche. When building began, Asuka-dera was intended to be the Sogas' clan temple, but when it was completed in 596 it had virtually become a state temple (ibid, p.107). In 594 Empress Suiko (592-628) officially accepted Buddhism as a national religion (ibid, p.97).

Asuka-dera was the centre of Buddhist activities and it became an Imperial focus in Asuka, the capital city. We can estimate the importance of Asuka-dera in the first half of the seventh century from the fact that the Buddhist statue made under the direction of Empress Suiko in 606 was set up, not in the First Horyu-ji, another large-scale state temple completed in 607, but in Asuka-dera (Kitayama, 1968, p.131). The historic role of Asuka-dera as the first national Buddhist temple is also revealed by its alternative names, Hoko-ji (法興寺) and Ganko-ji (元興寺). The latter, which literally means 'the first erected temple', seems to have been more popularly used. Asuka-dera was moved and re-built on a larger scale in Heijo-kyo (Nara) more than one hundred years later (Fukuyama, 1974, p.80), and for this temple only the name 'Ganko-ji' was used. In order to distinguish the original Ganko-ji (Asuka-dera) and the later re-built Gankō-ji, which will be touched upon briefly in Chapter 6, the use of the name 'Gankō-ji' will be reserved for the latter in this thesis.

As archaeologists have uncovered the general layout of the Asuka-dera, a reconstruction of the design can be made (see Fig. 43). It is not known, however,

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1. This transfer of the temple is only nominal, i.e., the original Asuka-dera remained intact and a new temple was built in Heijo-kyo which inherited the name Gankō-ji.

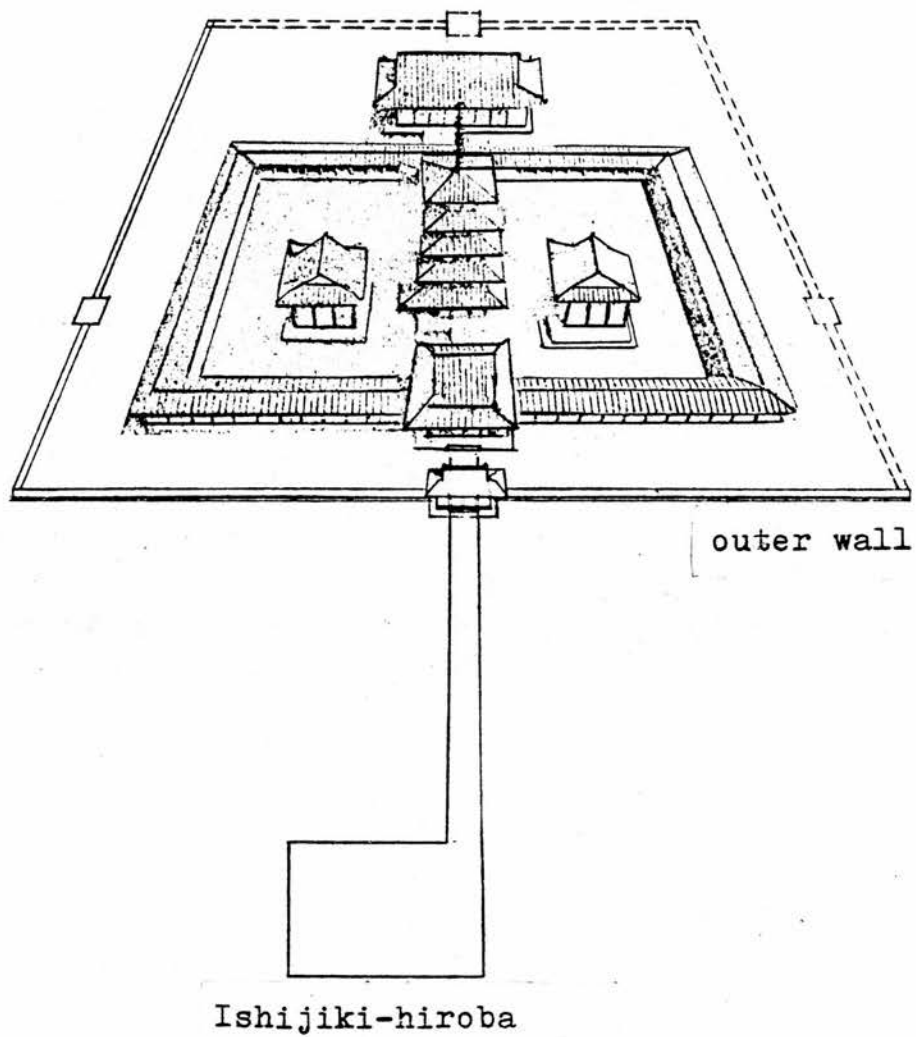


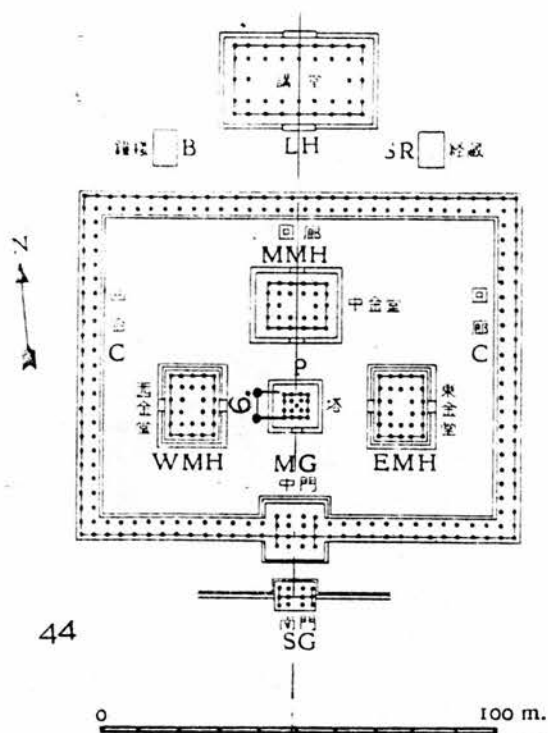
Fig.43 Model of re-constructed Asuka-dera

(based on Asano,1977)

exactly how the temple buildings were used. In the following it will be proposed that the similarities in the building plans between Asuka-dera and Chongamni, a large temple in ruins near Pyongyang, North Korea (compare Fig. 44 and Fig. 45), do not mean that Asuka-dera had functions similar to those of Continental Buddhist temples. It seems that when Buddhist temples came to be built in Japan, they were used to satisfy Japanese needs. Furthermore, although Asuka-dera appears to have been closely modelled on the Korean Chongamni temple, it also preserves some of the important traditional Japanese architectural features discussed in the previous chapter. In this chapter we aim to provide an analysis of the uniquely Japanese features observed in the Asuka-dera, a symbolic expression of emergent Japanese nationhood.

3.2 Plan

Fig. 44 shows a plan of Asuka-dera as derived from the excavation carried out there by the Nara Cultural Properties Protection Committee in 1958. Inside the cloister there are four buildings, the central one being the pagoda. The others are three Kondos of roughly equal size, one behind the pagoda and two facing it on either side. Outside, north of the cloister, stands the Lecture Hall, perhaps as well as the bell tower and sutral repository. While the internal disposition of the Korean Kondo and pagoda



Plan of Asuka-dera, in Asuka village, Takechi county, Nara prefecture. 588

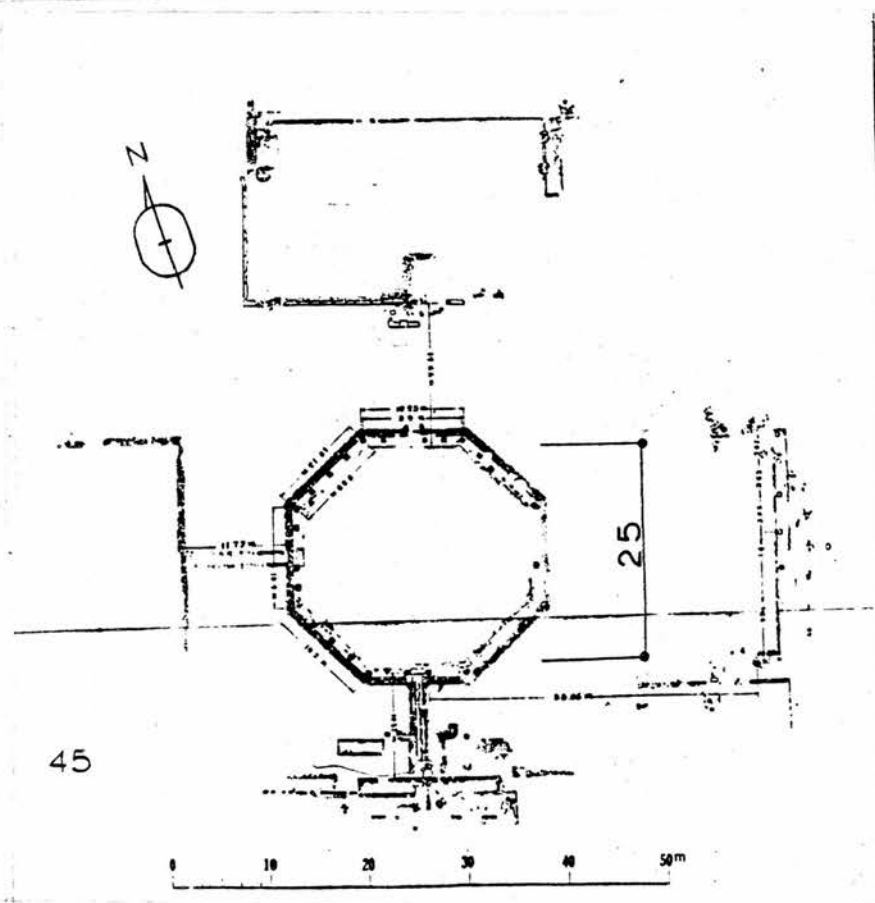


Fig.44 Plan of Asuka-dera

(Kidder,1972,F.27)

Fig.45 Plan of Chongamni near Pyongyang, North Korea

(Ko,1957,F.3)

is preserved, in Asuka-dera there is an outer wall enclosing the cloister, and there are two additional spaces, one outside the South Gate (Ishijiki-hiroba) and the other outside the West Gate (Nishiki-no-shita), all of which are absent from Chongamni. So far, archaeologists have uncovered only three gates of Asuka-dera: the Middle Gate and two gates of the outer wall in the south and west side. We can deduce, however, from the accounts given in three historical documents, that the outer wall had four gates, one on each side (see details in 4.4). The significance of these four gates will be discussed in the following chapter.

Apart from the additional wall and two outer spaces, there is another way in which the Asuka-dera design differs from that of the Chongamni. In the Korean temple the pagoda had a greater floor area than that of the Asuka-dera pagoda, and it also had a staircase, a feature which is not present in the plan of Asuka-dera. Documentary evidence which will be studied in the following section seems to support the view that these changes in the formal features served specifically Japanese functions.

3.3 Use of the temple

Although practically nothing has been written about how Asuka-dera was used, there are twelve distinct references in the Nihon Shoki to the manner in which Asuka-dera was used for ceremonies and meetings. As

the Nihon Shoki is a record only of national and Imperial events, one can produce evidence only of how Asuka-dera was used by Imperial families and officials of the Court: one can infer nothing of its additional functions, if indeed it had any.

An examination of the account given in the Nihon Shoki relating to Asuka-dera reveals that the ceremonies and meetings took place in different areas for different functions and for different groups of people (see Table I in page 137). There are only three instances where the inside of the cloister was used for ceremonies (1, 3, 11). It should also be noted that the ceremonies held in these cases were all of a private nature. While only the emperor seems to have entered the Kondo, the highest ranking minister and a prince were admitted to the courtyard. The position with regard to officials seems to have been that they were restricted to the Nishiki-no-shita (outside the West Gate) or the Ishijiki-hiroba (outside the South Gate). When the type of ceremony was more public, even the emperor and the Imperial family were kept outside the temple (e.g. 4, 7, 9, 12). These records clearly indicate the exclusiveness of the inner area of the temple and a strict hierarchical division between those who were allowed to be in a particular area and those who were not. This appears to be in a marked contrast to the Korean temple, where there was a special space called Naijin (inner chapel) and Gejin (ambulatory)

TABLE 1TWELVE REFERENCES TO ASUKA-DERA IN THE NIHON SHOKI

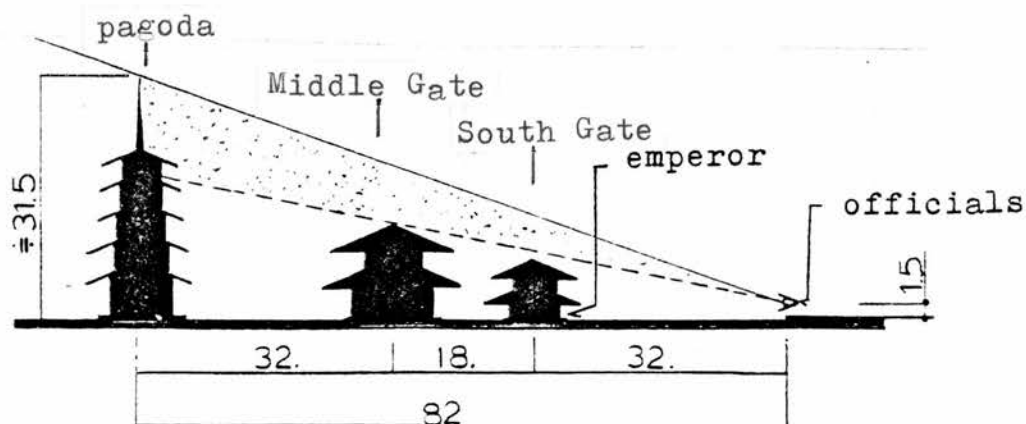
	DATE	PARTICIPANT(S)	LOCATION	EVENTS
(1)	642	Soga-no-Iruka (then head of the Soga family, the highest-ranking minister)	*southern part of the courtyard	private, religious ceremony
(2)	644	high officials	Nishiki-no-shita	private meeting
(3)	645	Prince Fruhito	*space between the pagoda and the Kondo	ceremony to ordain the prince to the the Buddhist priesthood
(4)	645	Emperor, Imperial family, officials	Nishiki-no-shita	ceremony of alliance after the coup
(5)	657	officials	Nishiki-no-shita	reception for the foreign mission
(6)	672	cavaliers	Nishiki-no-shita	meeting
(7)	677	Emperor, officials	the south gate Ishijiki-hiroba	readings from Buddhist scriptures
(8)	677	officials	Nishiki-no-shita	reception
(9)	680	Prince Otsu, officials	Nishiki-no-shita "	memorial service for Prince Takechi
(10)	681	officials, musicians	Nishiki-no-shita	reception
(11)	685	Emperor	*Kondo	private visit to worship Buddha
(12)	688	Emperor (?) officials	Nishiki-no-shita	reception rank-awarding ceremony

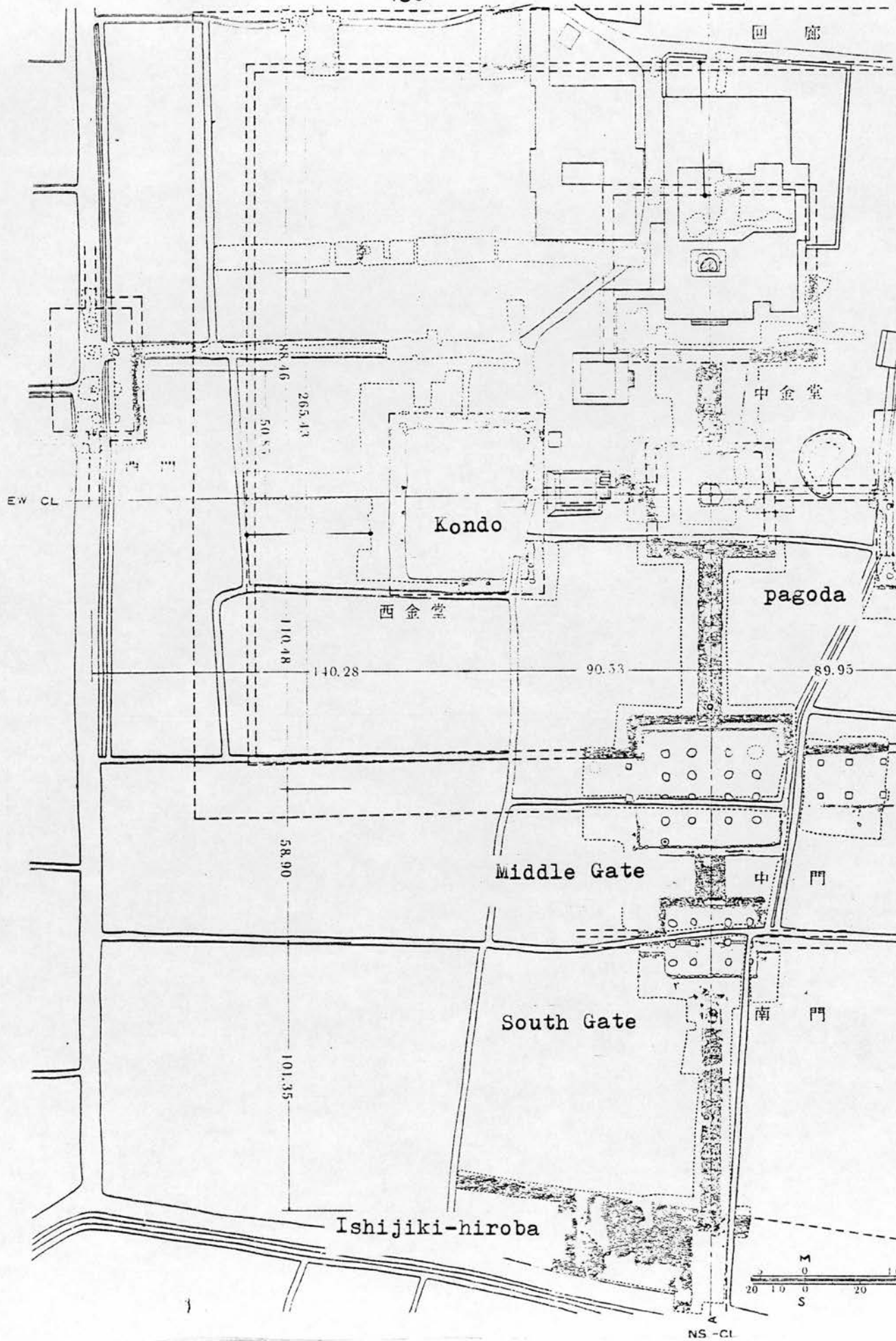
* location inside the cloister

in the Kondo, assigned to worshippers in general (see details in 5.5).

It is worth noting that the two additional spaces outside the cloister of Asuka-dera were used for national and public events. The Ishijiki-hiroba, literally a 'stone-floored place', is the area south of the South Gate (see Fig. 46). Between the South Gate and Ishijiki-hiroba there is a paved road, 29 metres in length and 2 metres wide. It is recorded that the emperor paid many visits to Asuka-dera (Kidder, 1968, p.89), and, as had been pointed out by Kidder (ibid, p.89), the paved road must have been prepared especially for these Imperial visits. The Nihon Shoki does not specifically mention the location of officials during the Buddhist ceremony held in 677 (Table 1 (7)), but it would not be unreasonable to assume that they stood in the Ishijiki-hiroba, for this would be the only place where they would be able to see the emperor standing in front of the South Gate. It is clear from Fig. 47 that

FIG. 47 LOCATION OF THE EMPEROR & OFFICIALS AT THE NATIONAL CEREMONY HELD IN ASUKA-DERA IN 677.





unit of measurement: shaku

1 shaku=30cm

Fig.46 Locationsof the Ishijiki hiroba

from the Ishijiki-hiroba the officials could only see the spire of the pagoda beyond the emperor. The emperor's position facing the pagoda seems to emphasise his role as the leader or representative of the worshippers positioned at the Ishijiki-hiroba. We may recall that a similar distinction of positioning was made at the Ise Shrine, where the official worshipper representing the emperor could proceed to the gateway of the third fence while the access of the public was restricted to the gateway of the second fence (see 2.8).

While Ishijiki-hiroba seems to have been used for national ceremonies and official Imperial visits, Nishiki-no-shita may have served as a venue for occasional ceremonies and receptions which did not involve the emperor, or where the ceremony was of a less official nature even though the emperor was present. As Nishiki-no-shita, the area beside the West Gate, has not yet been excavated, further information is not available. It is, however, probable that this area possessed some symbolic meaning before Asuka-dera was built. Nishiki-no-shita literally means 'under the tree in the westside', and there was a tradition mentioned in the Enryaku Soroku (the records kept by the monk of the Enryaku-ji temple, c788) that a tree at the spot near the West Gate of Asuka-dera was believed to have been a holy tree which possessed the spirit of

god (N.K.B.H., 1958, p.6). Later a small stone pagoda was built in this area, perhaps where the tree had originally been (N.K.B.H., 1958, p.6). This might provide a further indication of the close relationship of Asuka-dera with the Shinto tradition. This area may have been an old religious marked space similar to iwasaka (see 2.2).

In the Nishikino-shita, the activities in general seem to have been of a more social and communicative kind. According to the accounts given in the Nihon Shoki, the activities at the receptions included musical performances and possibly eating. To include such activities while at the same time confining them to the area outside the temple would indicate that the design of Japanese temples had eventually been adapted to incorporate a diversity of activities: in Chinese and Korean temples such activities took place inside the temple (Oyama, 1969, p. 16 & P.34).

3.4 Uniquely Japanese architectural features

Evidence for the exclusivity of the interior of the cloister and temple buildings of Asuka-dera can also be found in archaeological findings: for example, the presence of the four-gated outer wall and the considerably reduced floor space and also the absence of a staircase in the pagoda. The function of the outer wall appears to have been to render the cloister

more inviolate; to interpose some kind of barrier between the inner sanctuary and the outside world. This function is similar to that of the four fences of the Ise Shrine (see 2.3). Furthermore, according to the Nihon Shoki, Prince Nakano-oe (see 1.3) used Asuka-dera as a central gathering place for soldiers to repel a possible counter-attack by the Sogas after the coup of 645. This would suggest that the outer wall of Asuka-dera had been regarded as an effective defensive wall. The defensive nature of the wall is also revealed in the unusual naming of its four gates: this will be discussed in the following chapter (see 4.4). The wall was capped with Continental roof-tiles (Fukuyama, 1974, p.71), a material not possessed by the Japanese. Its function, however, seems to have been purely Japanese.

A brief reference has already been made to the fact that although the height of the Asuka-dera pagoda was probably the same as that of the Chongamni pagoda, the horizontal dimensions were quite different (see Figs. 44 & 45). The Korean pagoda was octagonal in plan, 25 metres from side to side; the Japanese pagoda was square about 6 metres wide. In Korea and in China the ordinary worshippers were permitted to enter the pagoda as well as the Kondo, and a staircase was provided so that an ascent might be made (see Fig. 48). The considerable reduction in size and the lack

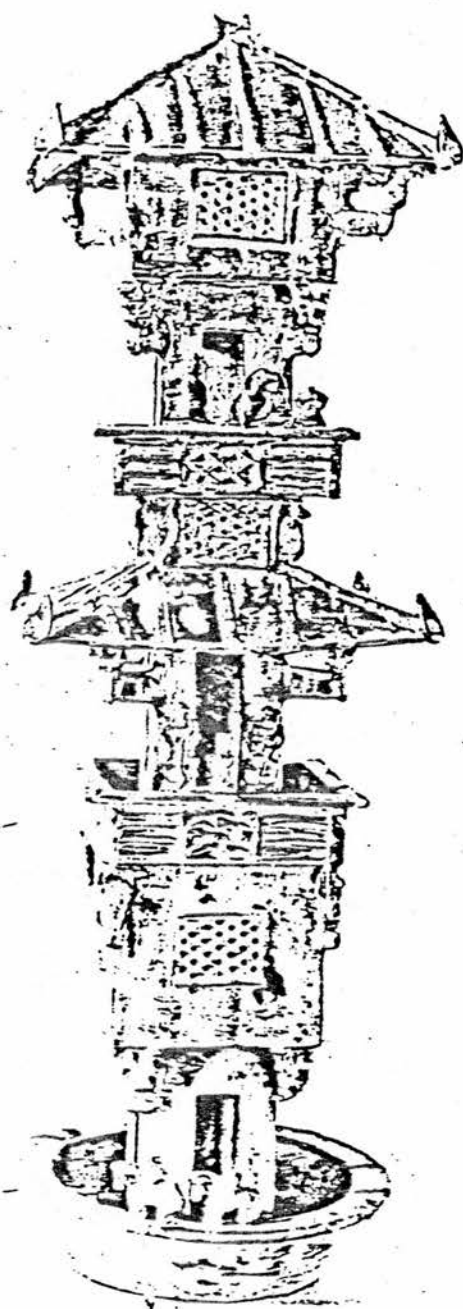
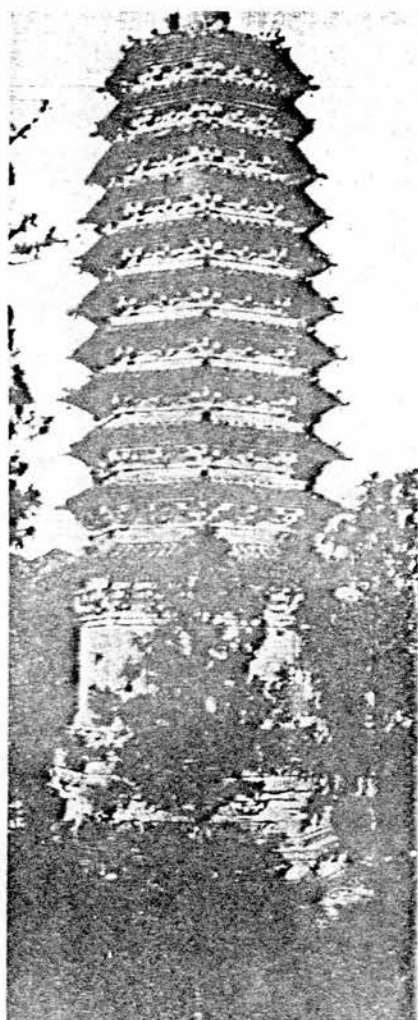


Fig. 48a The Chinese pagoda on Fang shan (after sien) was built from practical use (Carter.D, 1948).

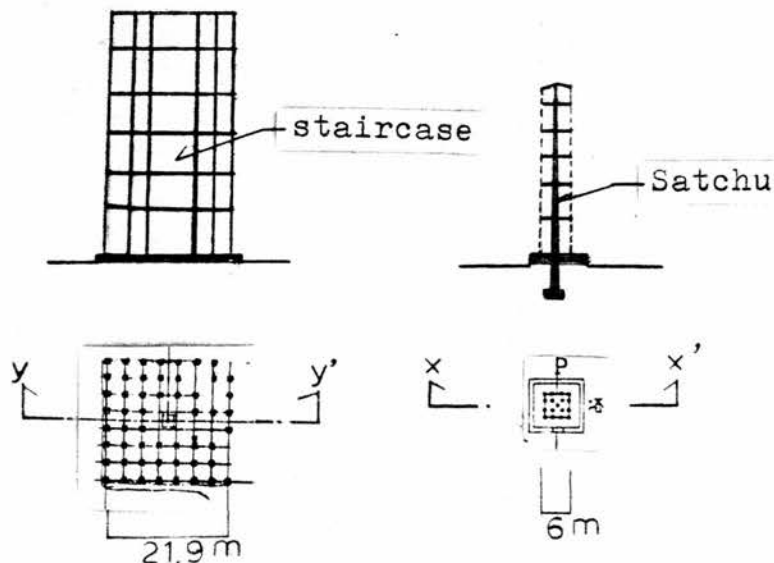
Fig. 48b The model of the 3rd Century Chinese pagoda with staircase and viewing platforms. Note people on the platforms.

(Mizuno, 1962)

of a staircase in the Japanese pagoda seem to indicate that it was not used by worshippers but was kept simply as a symbolic element. It is very doubtful whether even the emperor approached the pagoda. The Japanese pagoda appears to have been a symbolic representation of the emperor's 'soul' rather than of Buddha.

There are two further features which uniquely characterise the Asuka-dera pagoda. According to the architectural practice of the Continent, the upper structure of the pagoda, as in the other multi-storey buildings, was equally supported by a number of pillars and beams. In Asuka-dera, however, the main structure of the pagoda seems to have been supported only by the single centre pillar and cantilevers. Fig. 49 below shows the difference in

FIG. 49. DIFFERENCE IN STRUCTURE BETWEEN THE CONTINENTAL PAGODA AND THE JAPANESE PAGODA.



(a) Structure of the pagoda of the Korean Koryu-ji (c584)

(b) Structure of the pagoda of the Asuka-dera (c588)

(based on Fujishima, 1969, F.2)

structure between the Continental pagoda and the Japanese pagoda.

The use of a centre pole for a pagoda is uniquely Japanese, and in fact, the pagodas of the later Japanese temples are all based on the same kind of structure as that of the Asuka-dera pagoda. As indicated in the Second Horyu-ji (see details in 5.6), the pagoda of Asuka-dera does not seem to have had a floor at any of the levels higher than the ground floor. The Asuka-dera pagoda is supposed to have been five-storeyed (see Fig. 43), but the structure of the first to the fourth floors must have existed only to support the framework of the whole building. The centre pole had the special name Satchu, and it seems that this pillar had a similar significance to that of the shin-no-mihashira or munamochi bashira in the Ise Shrine (see 2.4) as a symbol of the Imperial power.

Another distinctive feature of the Asuka-dera pagoda is the unusual selection of objects that it had in its repository. The usual function of the pagoda is to hold Buddhist relics, called Busshari, which typically consist of the Buddha's ashes, nails, hair, etc.. The Buddhist belief is that by preserving the Buddha's relics in the pagoda one can invite the Buddha's soul there because he would naturally return to what was his own to ensure the general good (Oyama, 1962, p.16). Therefore, the pagoda in every Buddhist temple is supposed to contain the Busshari. However, archaeologists so far have not

been able to discover the Busshari in the site of the Asuka-dera pagoda. Instead, they have found such articles as glass beads, gold rings, horse bells, small gilt bronze repoussé ornaments, gold sheets, tubular and curved jade beads and even a suit of armour (Kidder, 1972, p.90). Such objects are typical of those found in the late mound tombs where emperors were buried. When the Asuka-dera pagoda was destroyed by lightning and fire in 1197 these objects were removed and then later replaced (ibid, p.90). This explains why some of the uncovered reliquaries are of the Kamakura period (1192-1333). There is therefore considerable doubt as to whether the Asuka-dera pagoda ever had a Busshari, because even if it had been lost in the fire of 1197 it seems most unlikely that such an important object would not have been replaced.

It seems that these two features of the Asuka-dera pagoda do clearly indicate its relationship with the Imperial mound (see 2.3). It had been thought that the mound was a resting place for the emperor's 'soul', to which all the co-buried sets of treasure were dedicated. It appears, then, that the function of the Asuka-dera pagoda was inherited from the Imperial mound; the pagoda was a monument dedicated more to the emperor than to Buddha. While in Korea the worshippers could enter the pagoda, a building around which Buddhist musical performances were often given, the Japanese pagoda seems

to have maintained the same exclusive nature as the mound. The Japanese mound was a burial ground for the dead and for their personal treasures, and the boundaries and moats were meant to ensure the eternal rest of the souls of the dead. As has already been discussed in 2.3, the dispersal of the 'spirit' of the dead was believed to bring about misfortunes. Therefore, the mound was deliberately located at a distance from the capital.

Apart from the archaeological findings there is also a documentary account which seems to suggest a link between the pagoda, the Imperial mound and the pillar. The Nihon Shoki records that when the mound of Emperor Kimmei was remodelled under the direction of Empress Suiko, his daughter, a huge pillar was erected on the mound. Many historians (e.g. Kitayama, 1968, p.92) have agreed that this event represents an Imperial effort to display its power and supremacy. This is the earliest record of the pillar on the mound. Furthermore, according to Murata (quoted in Inoue (b), 1969, p.43), the earliest Buddhist monument built by Soga-no-Umako was a wooden pillar. Judging from the fact that the pillar was called Satchu, it seems highly likely that at the earliest stage the pillar was regarded as a 'simplified' pagoda. In other words, we may assume that initially the Japanese treated the pagoda as a three-dimensional symbolic form of the Imperial

power which is more advanced than the mound and the pillar.

The conceptual relationship between the pagoda and the mound can be also found in the sutra mounds of later centuries. After the mid-eighth century the relics installed in the pagoda often came to be replaced by sutras. For example, the purpose for building the pagodas of the eighth century Provincial Temples was to deposit the special sutra called Konkomyo-saisho-o sutra (see details in 4.4). According to Kidder (1972, p. 140), the burial of sutras in mounds was introduced to Japan by the Tendai sect priest Jikaku Taishi after his return from China in 847, and the practice lasted well into the Edo era (1603-1868). It is very interesting to see that many sutra mounds were built in mountaneous areas marked by holy Shinto spots² (ibid, p.140).

3.5 Conclusions

After the defeat of the Shinto nationalists, Asuka-dera was built as a monument to the victory of the Buddhist supporters. The temple was also a symbol

2. The early burial sutras were written on paper, engraved on copper plate, scratched on tile or pieces of talc. Later ones were inscribed on wood or consisted of merely a magical symbol (borrowed from sanskrit) on a stone or shell. The sutras chosen for burial were primarily those used by the Tendai sect, and were often accompanied by a selection of bronze mirrors, swords, arrow-heads, knives and coins (Kidder, 1972, p.141).

of foreign culture (Tsuboi, 1974, p.46). The actual construction of the building, the use of roof tiles, the use of colour and painted woodwork were all novel features and the most advanced of their time. The temple must have created in people a feeling of admiration and even awe to a greater extent than the multiple-storeyed palace of Emperor Yuryaka (457-79) had impressed on the mind of the Court people (see 2.7). The temple buildings, monks and nuns would have aroused public interest in things foreign in general. It was four years after the completion of Asuka-dera that the Imperial government dispatched an official mission to China (Sui Dynasty), ending a break of almost 120 years in diplomatic relations (Naoki, 1965, p.92).

The Shinto tradition, however, did not disappear at once. Rather, it was upheld even by the emperors and officials who were the principal patrons of early Buddhism in Japan. For example, in 607 Empress Suiko issued an edict that the worship of the Shinto gods should not be neglected (Kitayama, 1968, p. 108). The Nihon Shoki records that, following this edict, both Soga-no-Umako and Prince Shotoku (see 4.2) took other officials to the Shinto shrine to attend a service.

At the beginning of the seventh century only the members of the Imperial Court and their families

had been converted to Buddhism, and historians (e.g. Kitayama, 1968, p.108) have often expressed doubt about the depth of the faith of these early believers. At this stage it is doubtful whether Buddhism significantly affected a convert's life. For example, almost 160 years elapsed before the first true Buddhist funeral ceremony took place for a person of high rank: in this instance priest Dosho (628-700) received a Buddhist cremation rather than the traditional interment (Kidder, 1972, p.134). Until this time all burial ceremonies for the emperors had also continued to follow the Shinto rites. In 624 Empress Suiko first set up three governmental posts Sojo (僧正), Sozu (僧都) and Hozu (法領) to exercise supervision over Buddhist monks and nuns. Although she appointed a priest for Sojo, the top ranking position, the other two positions were held by laymen (Naoki, 1965, p.155). This also seems to indicate a cautious attitude of the Imperial government toward Buddhism; they wanted to keep Buddhism under their control.

In this chapter we have observed that Asuka-dera had several features which seemed to be representative of traditional Shinto concepts. The exclusive nature of the temple, stressed by the presence of the outer wall, came to be incorporated in the design of temples built after Asuka-dera and up to the

building of the Second Horyu-ji (see 5.2). When the temple was used for ceremonies it was used in a similar manner to the way the Ise Shrine or the Daijo-kyu (see 2.8) had been used; there was a strict sub-division of the space so as to separate celebrants according to their rank in the hierarchy with the emperor at the top. Thus, the Kondo of Asuka-dera was imbued with a hierarchical significance that it would not have previously possessed in the normal Buddhist practice: instead of being a public worship place of Buddha it became exclusively sacred only to the emperor. The courtyard of Asuka-dera was apparently used by the royal family members and the highest-ranking minister (then the hereditary position occupied by the head of the Soga family) for private purposes, thus suggesting their superiority over the ordinary ministers and Court officials.

The Satchu, the centre pole unique to the structure of the Japanese pagoda, and the secular objects unearthed from the site of the pagoda seemed to be evidence indicating that the Asuka-dera pagoda was a symbol of the Imperial ancestry and its power rather than a monument dedicated solely to the Buddha's soul. Archaeologists (e.g. Kidder, 1972, p.139) reckon that by the end of the seventh century the pagoda of Japanese Buddhist temples came to be used to deposit authentic Buddhist relics, the Busshari. Since the foundation of Asuka-dera the more important national

ceremonies had come to be held in Buddhist temples rather than in Shinto shrines. Evidence for the continuing practice of Shinto tradition found in this temple can be understood in this context: Asuka-dera must have been required to satisfy Imperial demands within a Buddhist ambience.

Initially the external manifestations of Buddhism rather than its philosophy were important for the Japanese. Buddhism endowed the emperor with an aura of national importance and dignity, a property deemed necessary by the Japanese in their wish to impress the Chinese and the Koreans. This can be typically seen in the account given in the Nihon Shoki with regard to the Asuka-dera pagoda. This records that in 593 at the time when the Satchu (the centre pole) was being built the Busshari were held as consecrated objects in the pagoda. If our supposition is correct, then this account of the Nihon Shoki must be in error. The compilation of the Nihon Shoki, as well as that of the Kojiki, was an important national undertaking to promote the social and cultural achievements of Japan (see 2.9). It was written with a full awareness of the critical readership it would encounter on the Continent. The Japanese might have preferred to claim to the outside world that the Asuka-dera was a 'real' Buddhist temple, i.e. in the sense that it contained the Busshari, although they may have had

little intention of giving up the Shinto tradition at this stage.

Buddhism was primarily employed by the Imperial Court to emphasise the sharp social distinction between the emperor as the importer and possessor of the most highly developed technological and artistic skills of Asia at the time, and the other clans who confined themselves to the old traditional forms and customs of tribal society. Later, as we shall see in the next chapter, Buddhism came to be the national guardian religion, providing a unifying impulse for the growth of Japanese nationhood.

CHAPTER 4

THE SHITENNO-JI STYLE TEMPLES

CHAPTER 4

THE SHITENNO-JI STYLE TEMPLES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Not long after the founding of the Asuka-dera (588) four more prominent temples were also built: Shitenno-ji (593), the First Horyu-ji (607), Tachibana-dera and Koryu-ji. Precise dates for the building of Tachibana-dera and Koryu-ji are not known, but it is widely believed that Tachibana-dera was built around 600 (Fukuyama, 1974, p.75). As for Koryu-ji there is documentary evidence to suggest a date of around 603 (Kidder, 1972, p.105). All four temples were built according to the edict of Prince Shotoku (573-622), as were other minor temples. As a result of excavations by archaeologists the plans of the Shitenno-ji, the First Horyu-ji and Tachibana-dera are available, and because these plans are so similar the three temples are normally classified as the Shitenno-ji style temples, a building style which came from the Paekche kingdom of south-west Korea (see Figs 50 & 51).

The Shitenno-ji, Horyu-ji and Tachibana-dera temples still exist and they are still used as Buddhist temples. However, the temple buildings which are now standing are not the original ones, as these were destroyed by fire. Since the present reconstructions

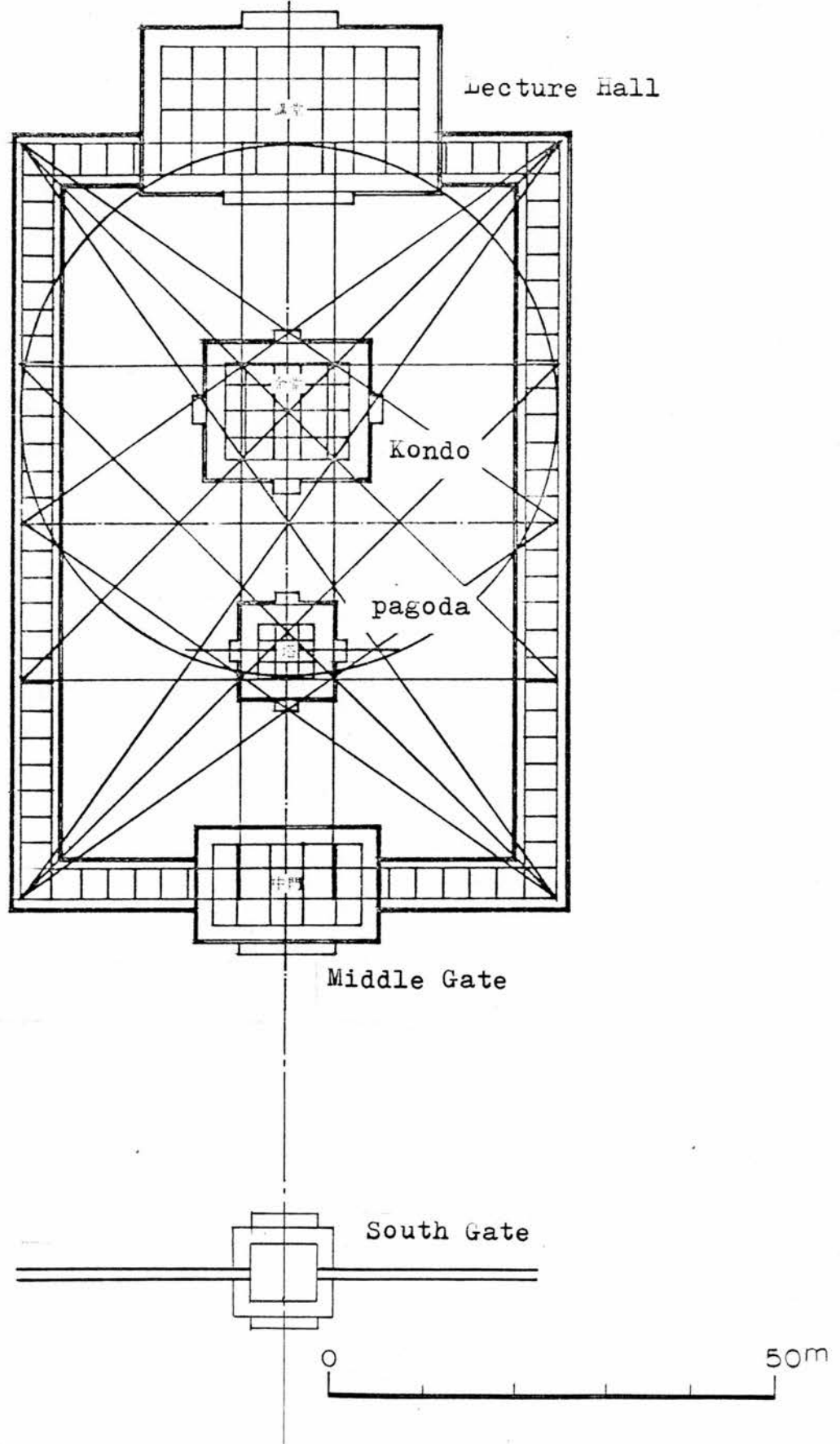
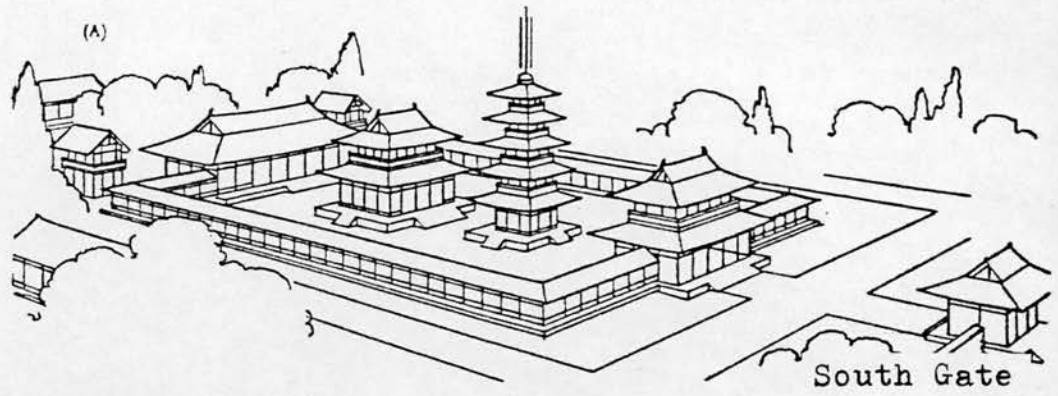


Fig.50 Plan of the original Shitenno-ji drawn
by Hasegawa.

(Yanagi, 1977, F.1)

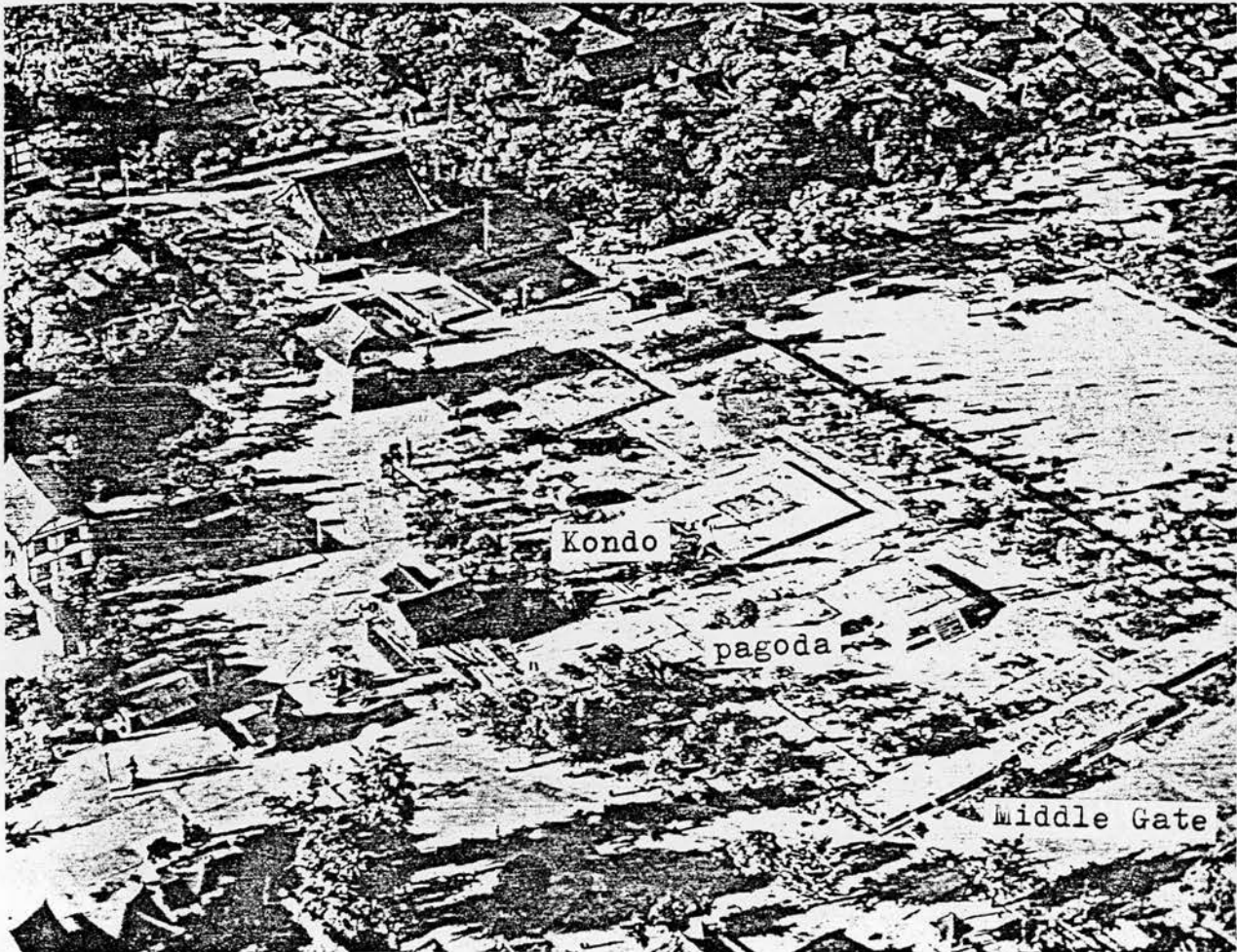
Fig.51



(a) A bird's eye view of Shitenno-ji

(Soper, 1955, p.174)

212 四天王寺伽藍跡 しでんのうじ がらんあと 創立以来の堂塔の配置を、数回の災害と再建を経て、伝統的に保存してきた点で四天王寺は重視されている。その主要部が1945年の戦災で焼失した後をうけて、再建にさきだち1955年から発掘調査が行われた。この写真は、発掘のはじめごろの状況で、西南上空から見たもの。右から中門跡・塔跡・金堂跡・講堂跡が南北に並ぶことや、中門から講堂にかけて一周する回廊も明らかである。講堂跡のうしろ、池中の石舞台の北にある大きな建物は六時堂である。飛鳥時代 大阪 (写真提供 毎日新聞社大阪本社) (解説 福山益男)



(b) The ruin of the original Shitenno-ji

(Kodama (ed.), 1956, vol.2, p.180)

of the Shitenno-ji and Tachibana-dera were built much later than the original ones (Fukuyama, 1972, p.152 & p.292), we cannot be sure to what extent they preserve original forms and details. On the other hand, considering the newly constructed Horyu-ji buildings (the Second Horyu-ji), these are generally believed to have been reconstructed in 708 (N.R.T.K., 1970 a, p.10) and it is widely accepted that there were no significant differences between the original (the First Horyu-ji) and the rebuilt buildings with regard to the number and design of the constituent buildings (Kuno, 1966, p.81). In this chapter we shall make use of the plan of the Second Horyu-ji to draw several inferences about the details of the Shitenno-ji style temples.

In the Shitenno-ji style temples each building is placed on a longitudinal axis (north-south in the case of Shitenno-ji and the First Horyu-ji, and east-west in the case of Tachibana-dera). There are two gates, one outside and the other attached to a rectangular cloister. Near the centre of the cloistered area stands the Kondo, and before it the pagoda. Behind the Kondo is the Lecture Hall, and outside the cloister on either side stand a bell-tower and a sutra repository. As Koryu-ji has not been excavated yet, its architectural details are not known, but we can assume that it was built according to the Shitenno-ji style plan as its date is very near to the other three

temples and the construction of the temple was directed by the same man as that of the others - Prince Shotoku (Kidder, 1972, p.16).

There is another important feature which seems to have been shared by all of the Shitenno-ji style temples. It has been found that the length of the two sides of the cloister of Shitenno-ji represented the ratio ($\sqrt{2}:1$) (Asano, 1977, p.138). Furthermore, it can be shown that this ratio also applies to the two sides of the entrances of the plan of the Kondo and pagoda in the Second Horyu-ji (see details in 4.5). From this it may be assumed that ($\sqrt{2}:1$) was the ratio of the two sides of the entrances of the Kondo and pagoda in the Shitenno-ji style temples as well, because, as mentioned before (see p.157), there were no significant differences with regard to the design of the constituent buildings between the Second Horyu-ji and the First Horyu-ji, one of the Shitenno-ji style temples. So far the significance of ($\sqrt{2}:1$) has not been discussed in detail by architectural historians, and the analysis which will be made later in this chapter is the first attempt to do so.

The hypothesis I propose to develop in the following pages is that the four Shitenno-ji style temples were the earliest temples in Japan representing the concept of defence, and that the design, positioning

and function of these temples can be understood in relation to the form and idea of the Buddhist mandala.

4.2 Historical background

We can uncover the idea underlying the Shitenno-ji style temples most effectively if we consider the political situations facing Japan at the beginning of the seventh century, when the main preoccupation of the Imperial government was defence.

Internally, the Imperial government had obtained direct dominion over the local lords only recently, and it was still necessary to establish a central organisation with strong power and authority. On the other hand, the Japanese felt increasingly threatened by the possibility of attacks from the Continent. Although Japan occupied Mimana the southernmost part of Korea in 369, it was forced to withdraw by the army of Silla, the kingdom in the south-east part of Korea in 562 (Kitayama, 1968, p.53). At the same time, the Sui Dynasty (589-618) was attempting to extend its power to Kokuryo, the northern part of Korea. In order to arm the country against the threat from outside, it was of urgent necessity for the Imperial government to strengthen the internal structure of the nation to the extent where Japan could be recognised and treated as an independent nation standing on an equal footing with other Asian

neighbours, especially with China.

It was Prince Shotoku who exerted all of his power to enhance the prestige of the Imperial House at home and among the other Asian nations. When Empress Suiko ascended to the throne in 592, Prince Shotoku was appointed as regent and heir apparent. Apart from Soga-no-Umako, the founder of Asuka-dera and also uncle of the empress in power, the prince was the most influential figure in the Imperial Court and was actively involved in the policy-making.

In 608 Prince Shotoku dispatched an official mission to the Court of the Sui Dynasty, ending a break of almost 120 years in diplomatic relations. While he was in office, the prince sent a mission of government officials, scholars and monks to China four times to let them study Chinese legal and administrative systems as well as Buddhist philosophy (Naoki, 1965, p.92). The government's interest in the communication with China relaxed after the death of the prince until it was re-awakened by the coup of 645. Although there was obviously a considerable difference in national strength between China and Japan at that time, Prince Shotoku tried to establish a relationship with China on an equal status, so that the Japanese Imperial House could improve its position against the Korean kingdoms and the Sogas who were

closely connected with the Korean immigrants (ibid, p.94).

According to historians (e.g. Naoki, 1965, p.110), it was during the reign of Empress Suiko (592-628) that the head of the Japanese Imperial family started to call himself (or herself) 天皇 ('Sumera-mikoto' according to Japanese pronunciation and 'Tenno' according to Chinese pronunciation; the latter has become a common usage), the word borrowed from China, which is normally translated as 'emperor'. Up until that point, the Japanese word 'O-kimi' (大己) had been used. This change to the title of emperor seems to have been a typical reflection of the Imperial efforts to assert its authority to both inside and outside the country.

Firstly, there is a significant difference in meaning between 'O-kimi' and 'Tenno' : while the former means 'a most powerful clan' suggesting a relatively high status, the latter means the most powerful position beyond comparison, implying absolute supremacy. Secondly, in Chinese, 'Tenno' did not mean a political monarch, for which they used Kotei (皇帝) or Teio (帝王), but it meant religious king or god (ibid, p.111). Thus the Japanese emperors emphasised the religious nature attached to their status to Korea and China, and even dared to imply their superiority over the other Asian kings.

Apart from his achievement in the restoration of diplomatic relations with China, Prince Shotoku is also known for reforming the legal system, for establishing rank designations by colour of headgear and for building temples. He was a scholar of Buddhist philosophy as well (Kuno, 1966, p.152). During the first half of the seventh century, although the Sogas maintained their dominant position in the Court, the Imperial House acquired an increased prestige owing to the efforts made by the prince. As he was a member of the Imperial family himself, the influence which he exercised towards the spread of Buddhism may have been greater than that of Soga-no-Umako

It was not until the reign of Emperor Jomei (628-41), successor to Empress Suiko, that the construction of a Buddhist temple was ordered by the emperor himself. The first Imperial temple was called Kudara-dai-ji, which was later re-built as Daian-ji. The Nihon Shoki records that in 639 Emperor Jomei directed a new policy of fixing financial responsibility for palace constructions upon the western part and for temple constructions upon the eastern part of the country. (Tanabe, 1974, p.128). This seems to reveal that the Imperial government came to be able to exercise its administrative power over the considerably wide area of the country to mobilise labour forces and collect materials for the construction ventures in the capital. At the same time, this seems to indicate how quickly

the encouragement of Buddhism achieved its desired end of establishing a sense of Japanese nationhood.

4.3 Significance of the Shitenno

Before the official channel of contact with China was re-opened by the Imperial decision to dispatch a mission, many Buddhist scriptures and articles had been brought into Japan from Korea. It is a well-known fact that among those Buddhist scriptures, special importance was attached to the Konkomyo-saisho-o sutra (金光明最勝王經) by Japanese emperors from the earliest stage (Shibata, 1975, p.106). The Konkomyo-saisho-o sutra, literally 'realm protecting' sutra, is a ten volume Buddhist scripture known as the 'guardian' scripture of the nation because it specifically advocated national stability through the encouragement of Buddhism. It says,

'If a king of the nation makes efforts to diffuse this sutra through lectures and recitations, Shitenno will always come to his kingdom and protect it from all kinds of disaster. Every desire of the king will be fulfilled and his heart will be always filled with great joy' (Aoki, 1965, p.340).

The Shitenno (四天王) quoted in the sutra are Four Heavenly Guardians of Buddhism, and they are frequently represented in the Buddhist mandala as the 'custodians of the four gates'. Each Guardian is armed, awe-inspiring and monstrous in appearance (see Fig. 52).

Shitenno-ji was a temple dedicated to the Shitenno. The Nihon Shoki records the origin of



四天王圖 (冊子)

(藏紀二平, A. D. 890)

Photo British Museum

藏本彩色, Delhi

第 III 卷第 9 圖參照 F. 122

時當龍紀二載二月十八日弟子
將仕郎中左神武軍長史兼神史
東三柱國賜鮮魚飯張氏舒敬
心寫畫此經一冊此皆是私
本尊經法及四天王六
神將等威力得受恩
銜兼賜章服永為供養記
表見僧喜首同心勤文

Fig.52 Shitenno represented in a mandala discovered in Tunhuang (c890)
(Matsumoto, 1937, F.122)

Shitenno-ji as follows:

"In the struggle between Shinto and Buddhist factions in 587, Prince Shotoku was a leader of the latter with Soga-no-Umako. Before the crucial battle, the prince prayed to Buddha for protection by the Shitenno and promised that if the victory fell to his side he would build a temple and pagoda to honour these Heavenly Guardians" (Naoki, 1965, p.37).

The Shinto clans lost the battle, and Prince Shotoku built Shitenno-ji at Naniwa, the area in the present Osaka. In Shitenno-ji the statues of Shitenno were placed at the four corners of the platform of the Kondo, protecting the Buddha at the centre accompanied by a pair of bodhisattvas. These Shitenno statues are believed to have faced west, and according to Fujishima (1976, p.218), this seems to suggest that Shitenno-ji was also built to protect Japan from possible attack by China or Silla. The idea of building a Buddhist temple dedicated to Shitenno as a guardian temple of the nation was certainly not original to the Japanese. An example of such a Shitenno-ji can also be found in Korea, and there is documentary evidence that the Korean (Silla) Shitenno-ji was built against an attack from China at the end of the seventh century (Fujishima, 1976, p.155).

Once Shitenno-ji had been built, Prince Shotoku went on to build the First Horyu-ji in Nara, Koryu-ji in Kyoto and Tachibana-dera in the Asuka region. For lack of evidence, the exact function of both Koryu-ji and Tachibana-dera cannot be deduced,

but Horyu-ji ('Horyu' literally means 'the growth of the law') became the legal seminary (Kuno, 1966, p.152). Since Shitenno statues were found in the Kondo of the Second Horyu-ji (see Fig. 53), it could be assumed that they were also placed in the First Horyu-ji Kondo and in the Kondos of the other Shitenno-ji style temples such as Koryu-ji and Tachibana-dera: it has been widely accepted that there was not much difference in the internal arrangement of statues between the two Horyu-jis (Kuno, 1966, p.162). Thus, the Shitenno does not seem to have been the symbol of defence in its literal sense only. Apart from its military implication the Shitenno must have been considered to represent the notion of defence in an extended sense, the consolidation of the nation's power through establishing solid political, legal and cultural systems. The Nihon Shoki records that in 604 Prince Shotoku drafted the first national code of laws in Japanese history (Naoki, 1965, p.78).

4.4 Temple as a symbol of defence

The sites chosen by Prince Shotoku for the construction of temples had never been friendly Buddhist territories except for the Asuka region where Tachibana-dera was built (Kidder, 1972, p.93). They were widely separated from each other for that time

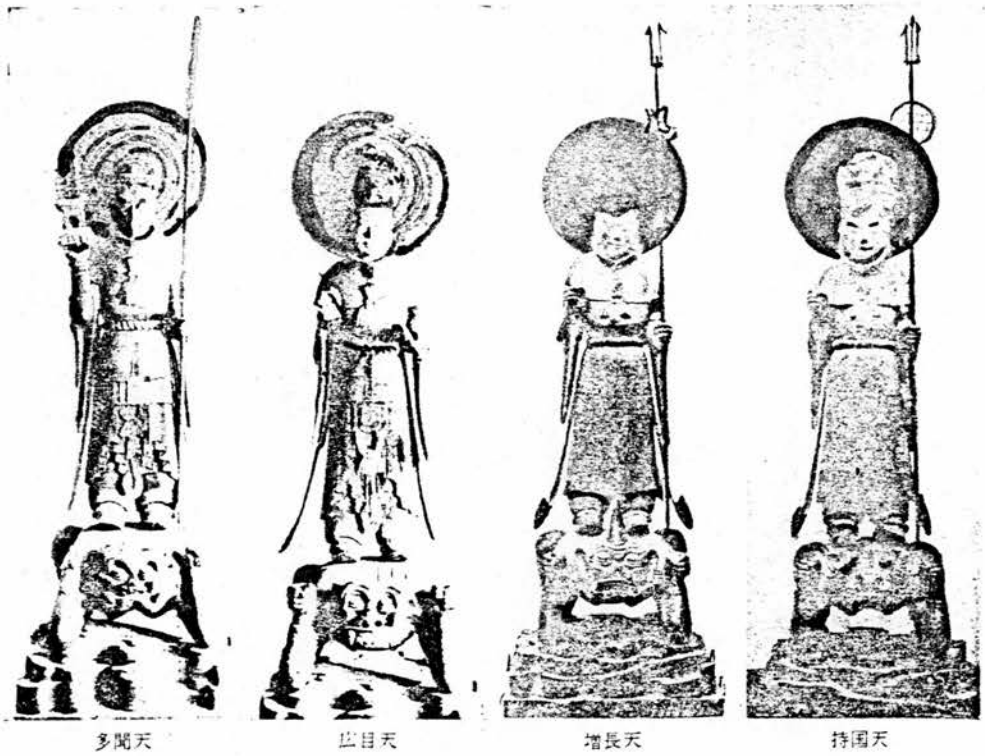


Fig.53 The Shitenno statues at the Second Horyu-ji Kondo

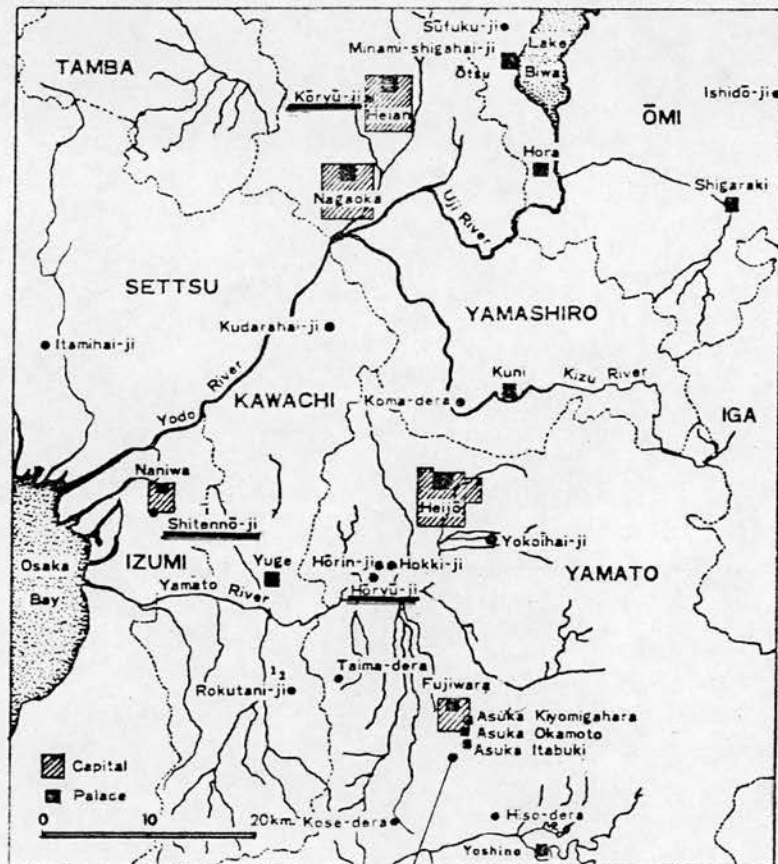
(Ishida, 1976, p.125)

period when Imperial efforts rarely reached out beyond the Asuka region apart from the maintenance of the traditional communication with the port of Naniwa. As has been pointed out by Kidder (1972, p.157), the decision of Prince Shotoku to build at least three temples in 'virgin territories' well outside Asuka is very unusual in view of the fact that Imperial residences were constructed only in Asuka, which was the stronghold of the Sogas and was becoming a hardcore Buddhist centre in the late sixth and seventh centuries.

The choice of the temple construction site made by Prince Shotoku seems to reflect his efforts to foster Buddhism from the family religion of a limited number of clans to the national religion. Geographically, the four temples were not situated at the four corners of the city state (see Fig. 54), but they may have been given 'spiritual' significance as four 'defence gates' of the kingdom represented in many Buddhist mandalas, which will be discussed in the following section.

Not only the Shitenno but also the temple building itself which contained the Shitenno statues, became a symbol of defence. Historical records confirm that at least until the end of the eighth century, Buddhist temples continued to be used as symbols of defence. In fact, in the mid-eighth century, it became customary for the emperors to order the temples

60



Tachibana-dera

Fig.54 Locations of the four Shitenno-ji style temples

(Kidder, 1972, p. 60)

to make the statues of Shitenno and give a recital of the Konkomyo-saisho-o sutra whenever a military crisis occurred (Aoki, 1965, p.323). At Dazaifu in Kyushu, which is the Imperial government's southern outpost built as its military headquarters for defence against the threat of invasions by Korea and China, as many as five temples were constructed inside the city and four stood in the immediate vicinity (Kidder, 1972, p.50).

The idea of a temple as a symbol of national defence was further extended to the construction of Provincial Temples later by Emperor Shomu (724-49). In 741 he issued an edict to all provinces to build a Buddhist temple and supply it with a copy of the Konkomyo-saisho-o sutra (Aoki, 1965, p.343). At least 62 Provincial Temples were constructed and most of them¹ were called Konkomyo-Shitenno-Nation Guardian Temple (金光明四天王護国寺) (Aoki, 1965, pp. 339-42). The pagoda was used as a repository for the sutra in each temple.

If we reconsider Asuka-dera now and look at the gates of its outer wall in detail, the defensive nature of the wall will become even more clear. In the previous chapter (see 3.2) we have noted that though archaeologists have uncovered only two gates in the outer wall of Asuka-dera, we can assume that the outer

1. Temples occupied by monks.

wall had four gates on all sides from the account of documentary evidence. There are at least three different texts which speak of Asuka-dera as having four gates, one in each wall. As we can see in the Table II below, each of the gates had its own specific name, although the documents do not name them identically.

TABLE II NAMES OF THE FOUR GATES AT ASUKA-DERA WALL
MENTIONED IN THREE DIFFERENT LITERARY TEXTS.

Gate	Texts ²		
	(a) Gleanings of Prince Shotoku	(b) Story of Ganshin, Buddhist monk	(c) History of various temples
West	Ganko-ji (元興寺)	Asuka-dera (飛鳥寺)	Hoko-ji (法興寺)
South	Asuka-no-tera (飛鳥之寺)	Ganko-ji (元興寺)	-
East	Hinban-ji (品幡寺)	Homan-ji (法興寺)	Asuka-dera (飛鳥寺)
North	Hoko-ji (法興寺)	Hoko-ji (法興寺)	Kentsu-ji (建通寺)

2. (a) Jyogutaishi Shuiki (上宮太子拾遺記)
 (b) Ganshin-Tokugyo-Koketsu-sho (顯真得業口決抄)
 (c) Shoji-Engishu (諸寺緣起集)

Attention should be drawn here to the fact that the four gates of Asuka-dera were always called 'temples'. In Japanese, 'ji' and 'dera' or 'tera' are different ways of pronouncing the Chinese character '寺' which means 'temple'. This seems to confirm the defensive nature of the outer wall of Asuka-dera discussed in 3.4. Moreover, the design of the four-gated wall surrounding the cloister seems to be suggesting a close relationship with the design of the four-gated Buddhist mandalas.

4.5 Influence of the four-gated mandala pattern

The mandala is of Pre-Buddhist ancient Indian origin and is said to have developed out of a most ancient intuition which, with the passage of time, has become clarified and has also adopted some alien conceptions, at least as far as the exterior pattern is concerned (Tucci, 1974, p.22). Thus the pictorial representation of the mandala is not peculiar to the Buddhists, who have nevertheless given greater precision to the elaboration of the original forms.

The mandala is supposed to be a reflection of the universe or a geometric projection of the world (as a synthesis of spiritual and earthly, internal and external worlds) reduced to an essential pattern.³ There are

3. It is not implied that pictorial images are always represented on mandalas. In many mandalas, there are no such representations but merely symbols or letters. (See, for example, Fig. 57).

complex premises from which the mandala derives, and it is normally used as a support for meditation, as an external instrument to provoke and procure visions of the world in quiet concentration and meditation (Tucci, 1974, p.37). Here we are not concerned with the psychological implication of the mandala but with its basic exterior pattern.

Together with Buddhist scriptures, mandalas were brought into Japan via Korea from China from the early stage of the arrival of Buddhism (Matsumoto, 1937, p. 1). It appears that the designs of the Shitenno-ji style temples and the Second Horyu-ji show a considerable influence of the basic patterning of the mandala, and that the $(\sqrt{2}:1)$ ratio ubiquitous in these temples, could be explained in this light.

The example which would support my view most clearly can be found in the similarity between the plan of the Second Horyu-ji pagoda (see Fig. 55) and the design of a mandala of Fig. 56. Fig. 56 is a Japanese mandala characterised by the T-shape of the four gates in the cardinal directions. Fig. 56 seems to be derived from mandala such as in Fig. 57, which was discovered in Tunhuang, China and is supposed to date back to the Tang Dynasty period (618-907).⁴

4. That the design of Japanese mandala was greatly influenced by that of the Tunhuang mandala in many respects, was pointed out by Matsumoto (1937, p. 1).

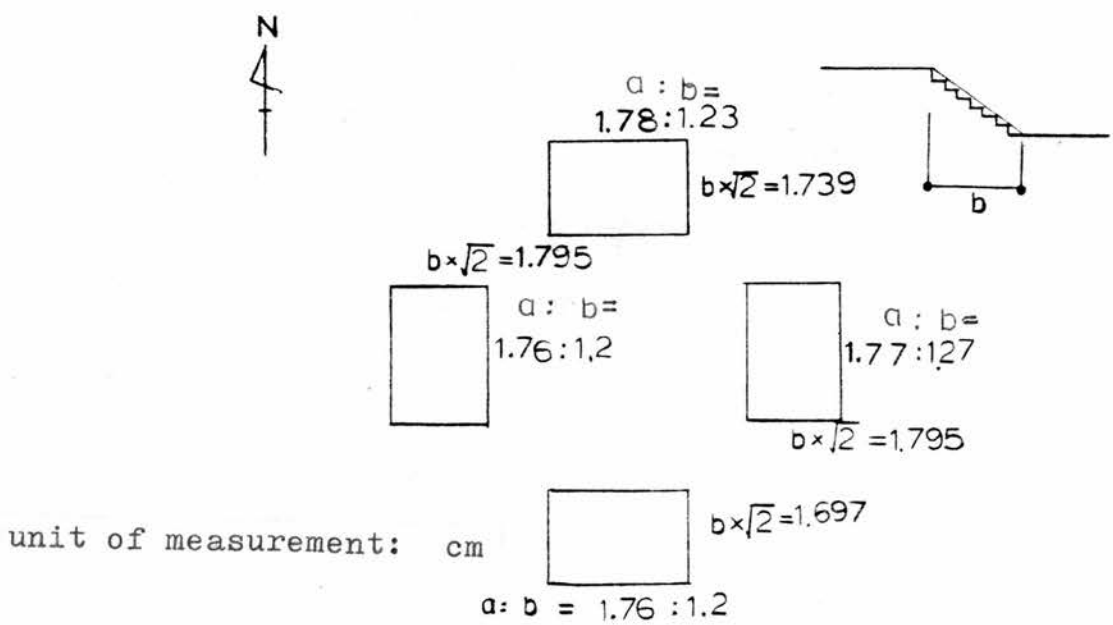
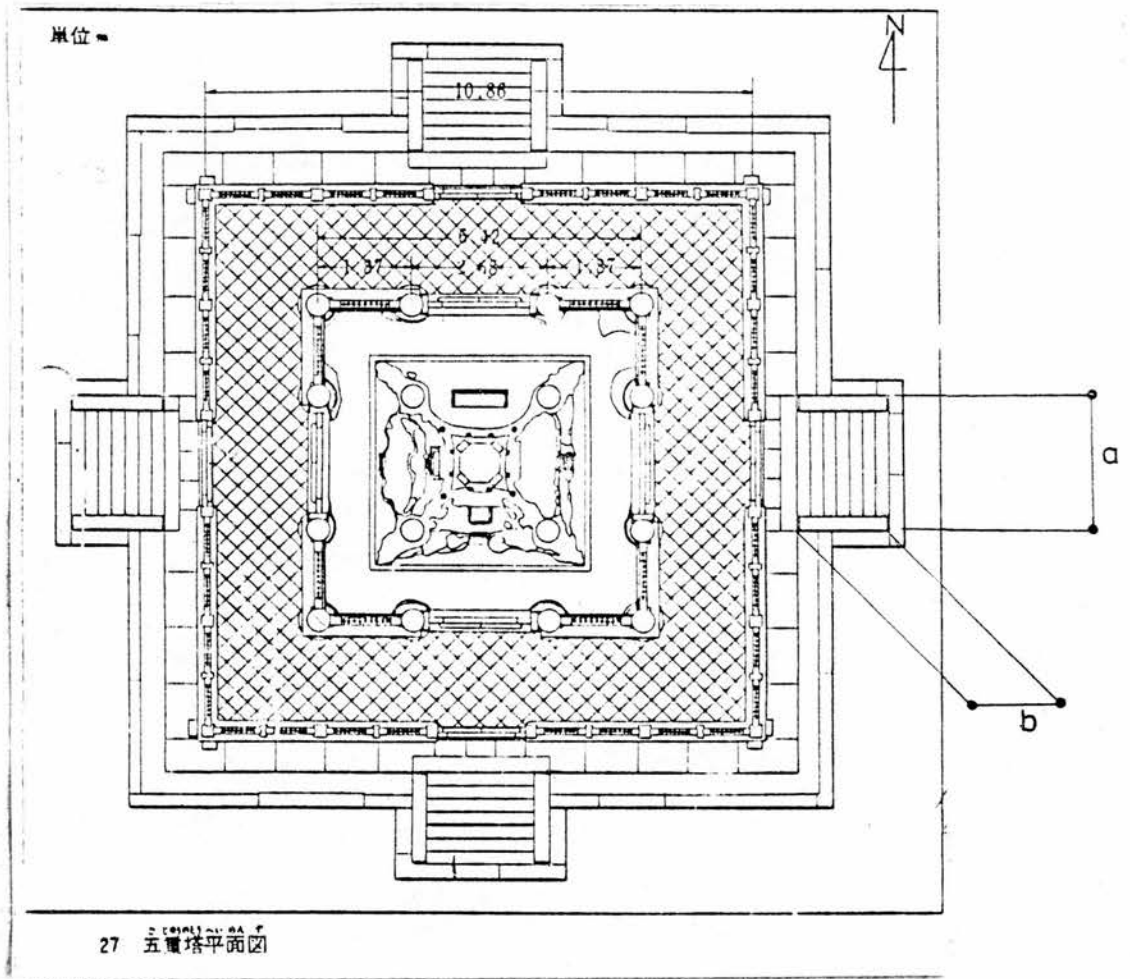


Fig.55 Plan of the pagoda of the Second Horyu-ji

(N.R.T.K., 1972, F.27)

$$a : b = \sqrt{2} : 1$$

形に門柱を建て、柱上に胎藏現圖の四門と同じ笠木を架したる例(附圖一六二)或は穹隆形を使
用せる一例(附圖一五八)等があるに過ぎぬ。この簡單なる凸字形の四方門は前記金剛界現圖

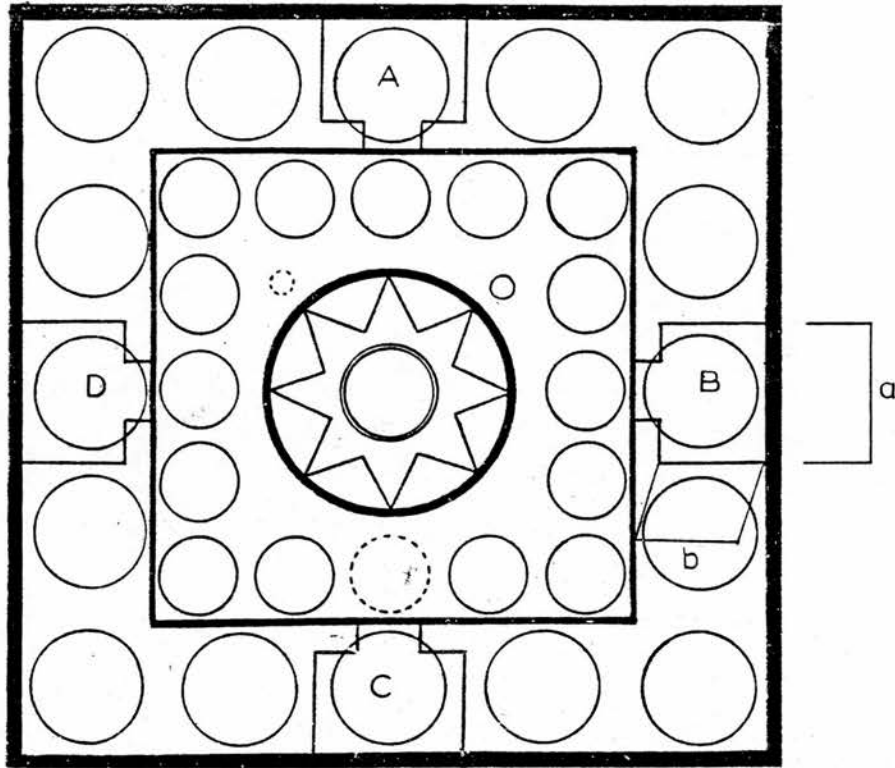


Fig. 149. 附圖 CL 護諸童子曼茶羅復原圖

次に第二及び第三重はFig. 149の復原圖に見る如く共に正方形にして、第二重は綠色、第三重は青色に彩り、第三重の四方には「四門」が開かれて居る。門の形は胎藏現圖曼茶羅の四方に見る金剛門の如き華表形のものに非ずして、金剛界曼茶羅の一印會四印會理趣會等の四方に見る蓮華門と同じ輪郭の凸字形の畧式門(Ex. 161)が用ひられて居る。燄煌出の曼茶羅或は壇樣圖等に於ける四方四門の形は大部分この式であり(附圖一五一・一五三・一五四・一六一・一六一・一六三・一六四)罕に凸字

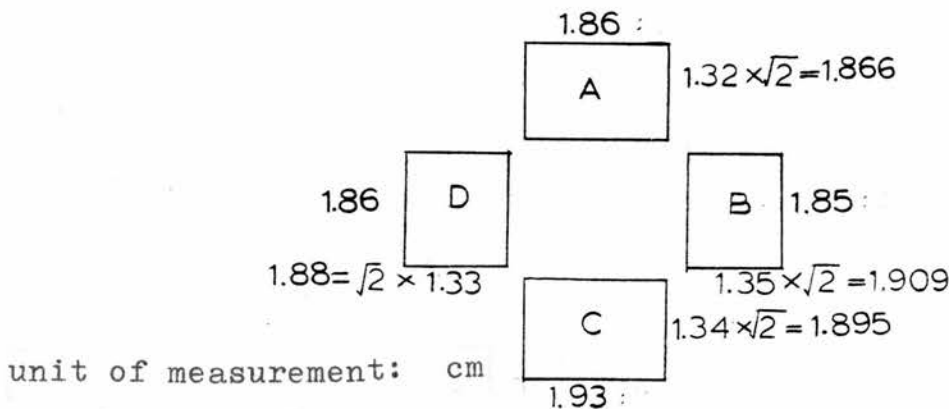
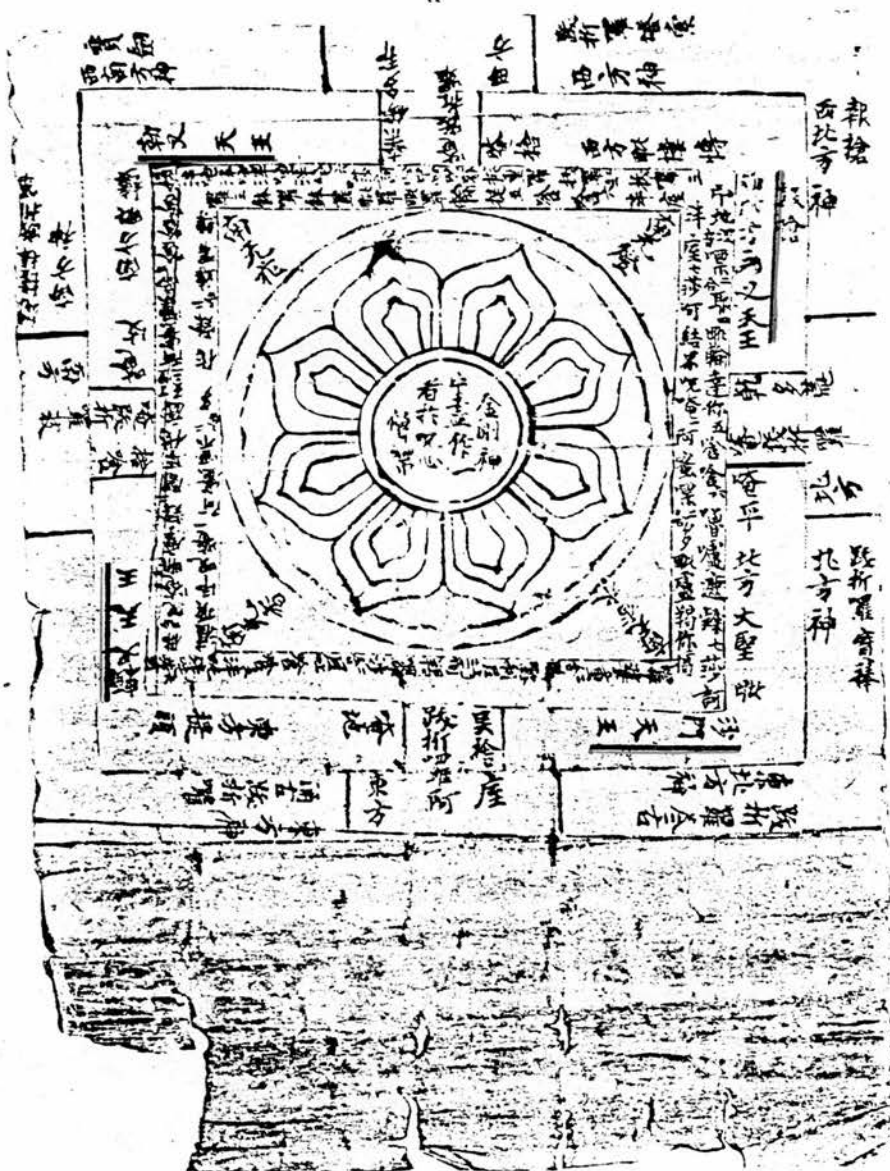


Fig. 56 A Japanese mandala with four T-shape gates

(Matsumoto, 1937, F. 149)

$$a:b=\sqrt{2}:1$$



隨求尊位曼荼羅

Photo British Museum
紙本 Collection Stein
第 V 卷第 9 節終照

Fig.57 A Chinese mandala discovered in Tunghuang with the names of the Shitenno

(Matsumoto, 1937, F.161)

Most of the mandalas found in Tunhuang are said to have four T-shape gates at the cardinal points (c.f. Matsumoto, 1937, Figs. 153, 158, 161, 162). It should be also noted that the names of each Shitenno are present in Fig. 57. The geometrical plan of Fig. 56 can be seen to be in outline, similar to the plan of the Horyu-ji pagoda. There are the same divisions of space. In the pagoda plan the basic pattern is a square representing earth. The circle of the mandala, which is normally understood to represent Heaven, appears to have become a cupola though in the Japanese pagoda one can find a surviving form of this traditional symbolism in the small hemisphere called Fukubachi below the nine parasol disks of the spire (see Fig. 58). The platform, surrounded by a wooden railing, is situated exactly in the centre of the pagoda, and this is where the so-called Shumisen (須弥山) statues are placed constituting a panoramic representation of four scenes of the events drawn from a Buddhist scripture (see Fig. 59). On the platform there is a huge clay mass (Shumisen) and on it stand four clay statues of Buddha and other 95 clay figures.

In the Horyu-ji Kondo (see Fig. 60) again the divisions of space is the same as in the mandala though this time the basic pattern is not square as in the pagoda, but rectangular. The innermost rectangular space is used as the railed-in platform for Buddhist statues.

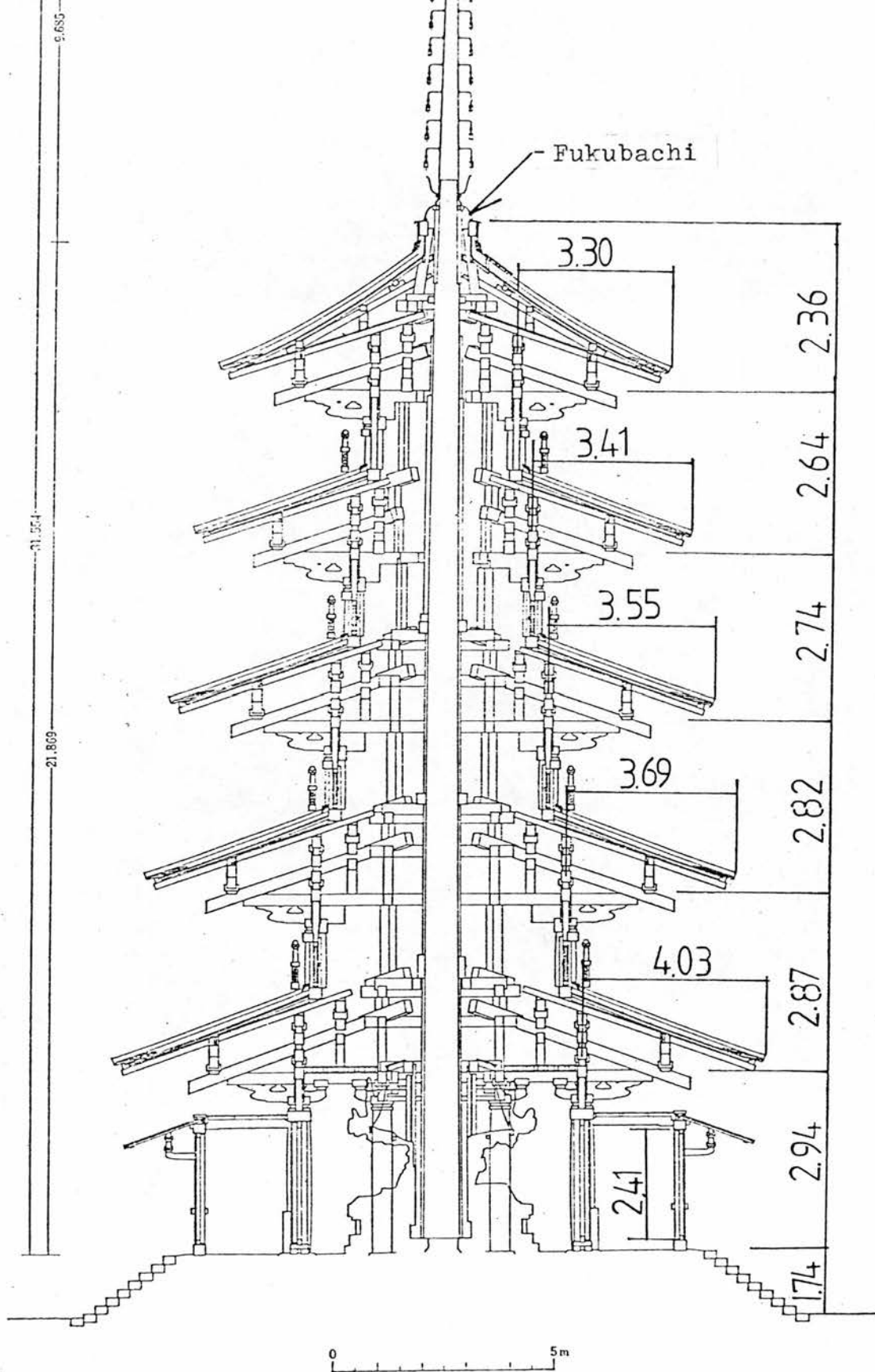


Fig.58 The Fukubachi of the Second Horyu-ji pagoda



329 五重塔塑像 法隆寺五重塔の初層には、仏像を彫刻で表わしている。すなわち、中央に須弥山(しゅみせん)を塑上でかたどり、東西南北に四方を廻り、北面には、釈迦涅槃(しっかねはん)、西面には分舍利(ぶんしり)、南面には、赤鷲(みろく)の仏上、東面には毘摩(ひま)と文殊(もんじゅ)の間答の地蔵を、それぞれ1尺内外の彫刻の群像であらわしている。像はいずれも塑造で、これらの像の大部分は、711年(和暦4)に制作されたものであることが記録によってわかり、重要な奈良初期の遺品である。711年 聖 奈良 法隆寺

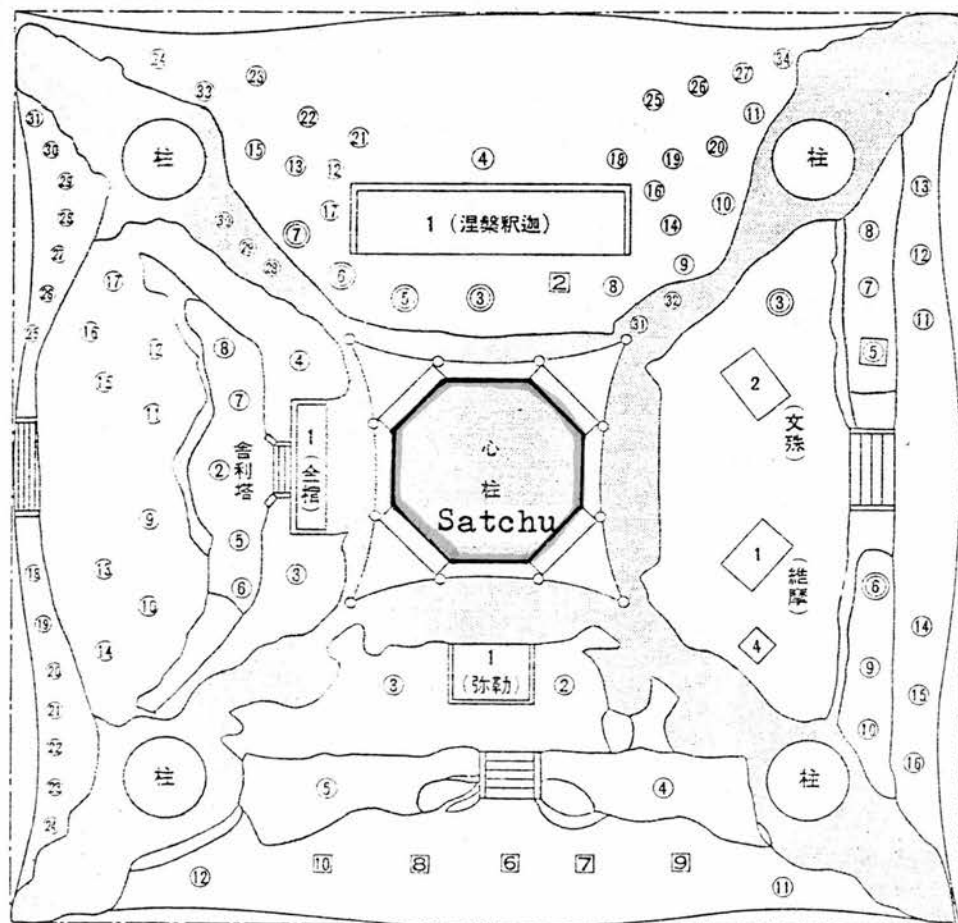
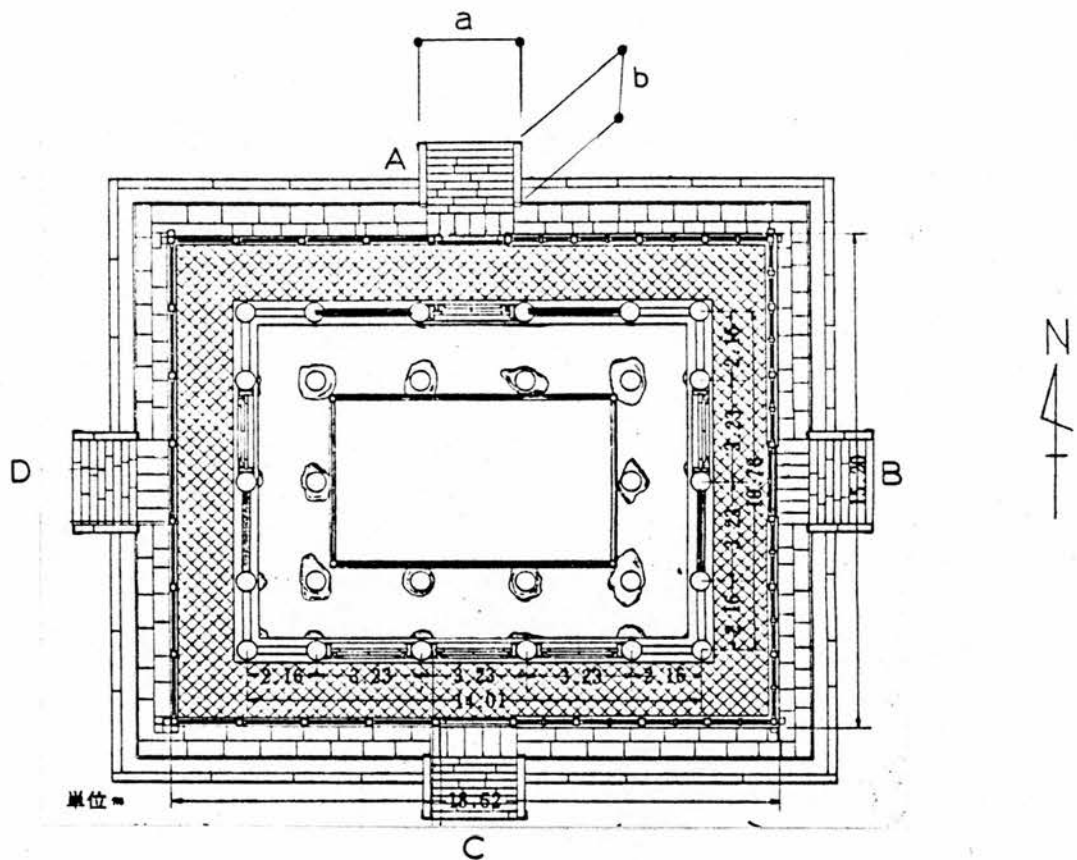


Fig.59 The Shumisen statues of the Second Horyu-ji pagoda (c711)

(Kodama et al, vol.2, 1962, F, 329)



	a	:	b	$b \times \sqrt{2}$
A	1.32	:	0.94	1.329
B	1.3	:	0.86	1.216
C	1.28	:	0.85	1.202
D	1.3	:	0.86	1.216
unit of measurement:cm				

Fig.60 Plan of the Second Horyu-ji Kondo

$$a:b=\sqrt{2}:1$$

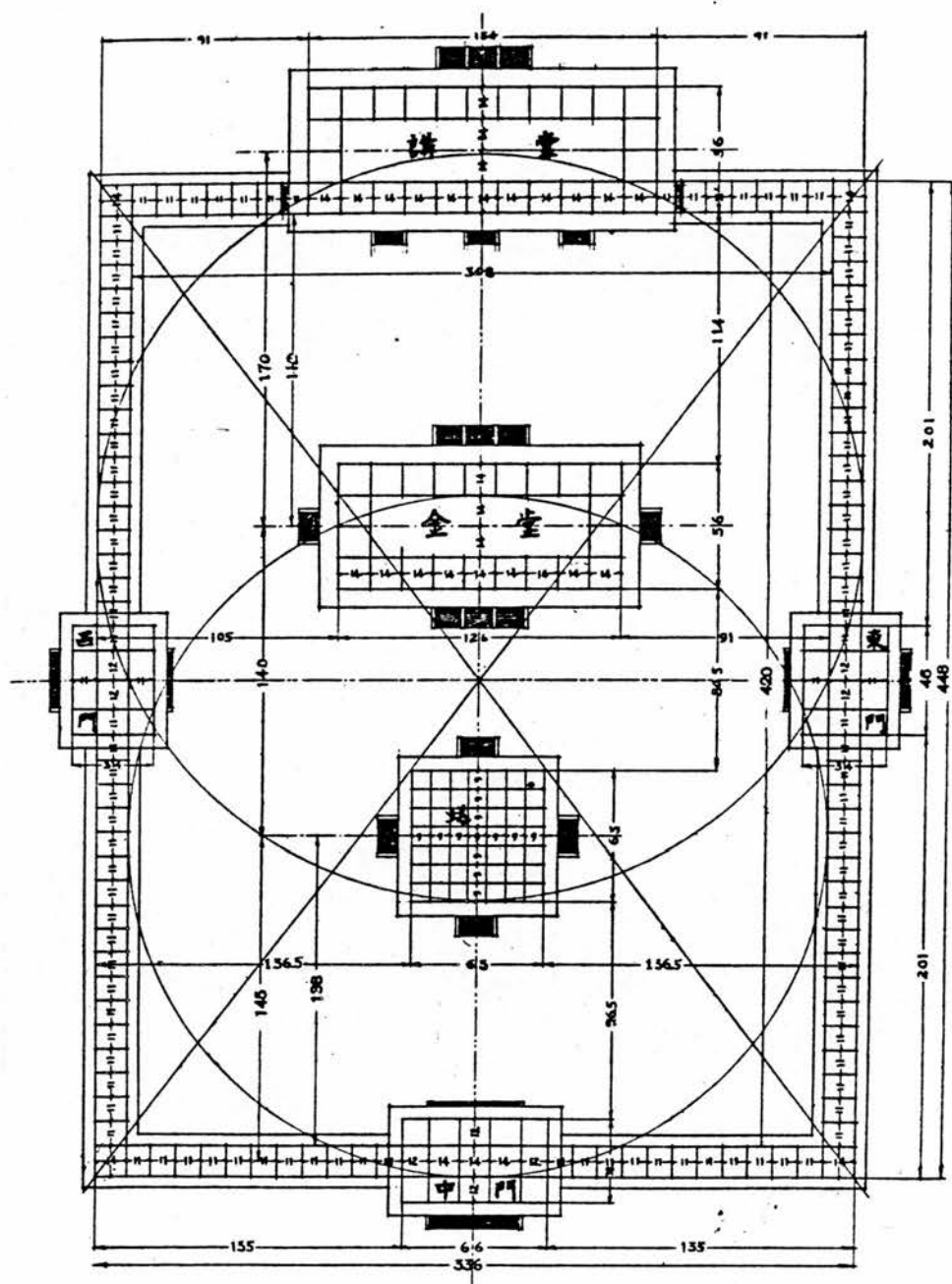
(Inoue, ①, 1969, p.46)

We must also note here that the two neighbouring sides of each of the four entrances of both pagoda and Kondo shows the ratio of approximately⁵ $\sqrt{2}:1$. It seems that it is highly likely that the ratio ($\sqrt{2}:1$) derived from the same ratio represented in the two sides of each gate of the Japanese mandala. In the Japanese mandala (see Fig. 56) the ratio is exactly ($\sqrt{2}:1$) though in its probable Chinese model (see Fig. 57) it is not. Nor can the ratio of ($\sqrt{2}:1$) be found in the plan of the Korean temple which was built in the Shitenno-ji style. (See Fig. 61).

Thus one may assume that the design of the T-shape gates of the mandala received some modifications in Japan and that the employment of ($\sqrt{2}:1$) in the two sides of the four gates are uniquely Japanese. The reason why a particular ratio ($\sqrt{2}:1$) was chosen will be discussed later. In fact, the exact ratio ($\sqrt{2}:1$) cannot be observed in the four T-shape gate mandalas either of Chinese (Tunhuang) origin (see Figs. 62,63,64) nor of Tibetan origin (see Figs. 65, 66).

In Fig. 67, a Japanese mandala which keeps

-
5. According to the plan (see Figs. 55 & 60, the two sides of the north entrance show the exact proportion of 2:1, but the length of the shorter side of the entrance becomes a little longer in the east and west gates and even longer in the south gate. This must be due to the location of the Second Horyu-ji; it stands on the gentle slope inclined at an angle of approximately two degrees, falling down from south to north (see also 5.3).



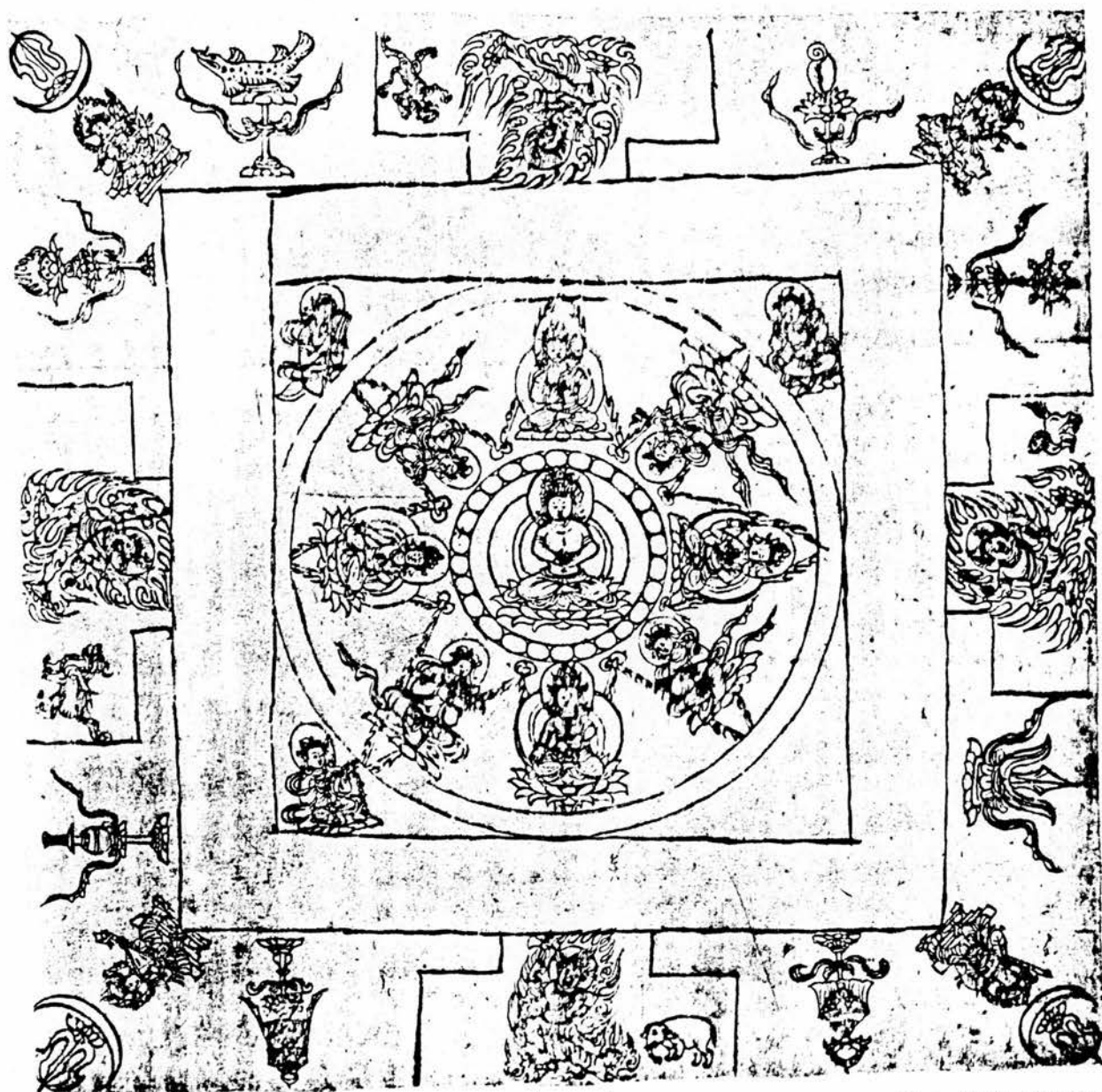
皇龍寺迦藍復原圖

Fig.61 Plan of the Korean Koryu-ji

unit of measurement: shaku

1 shaku=30cm

(Fujishima, 1969, F.4)



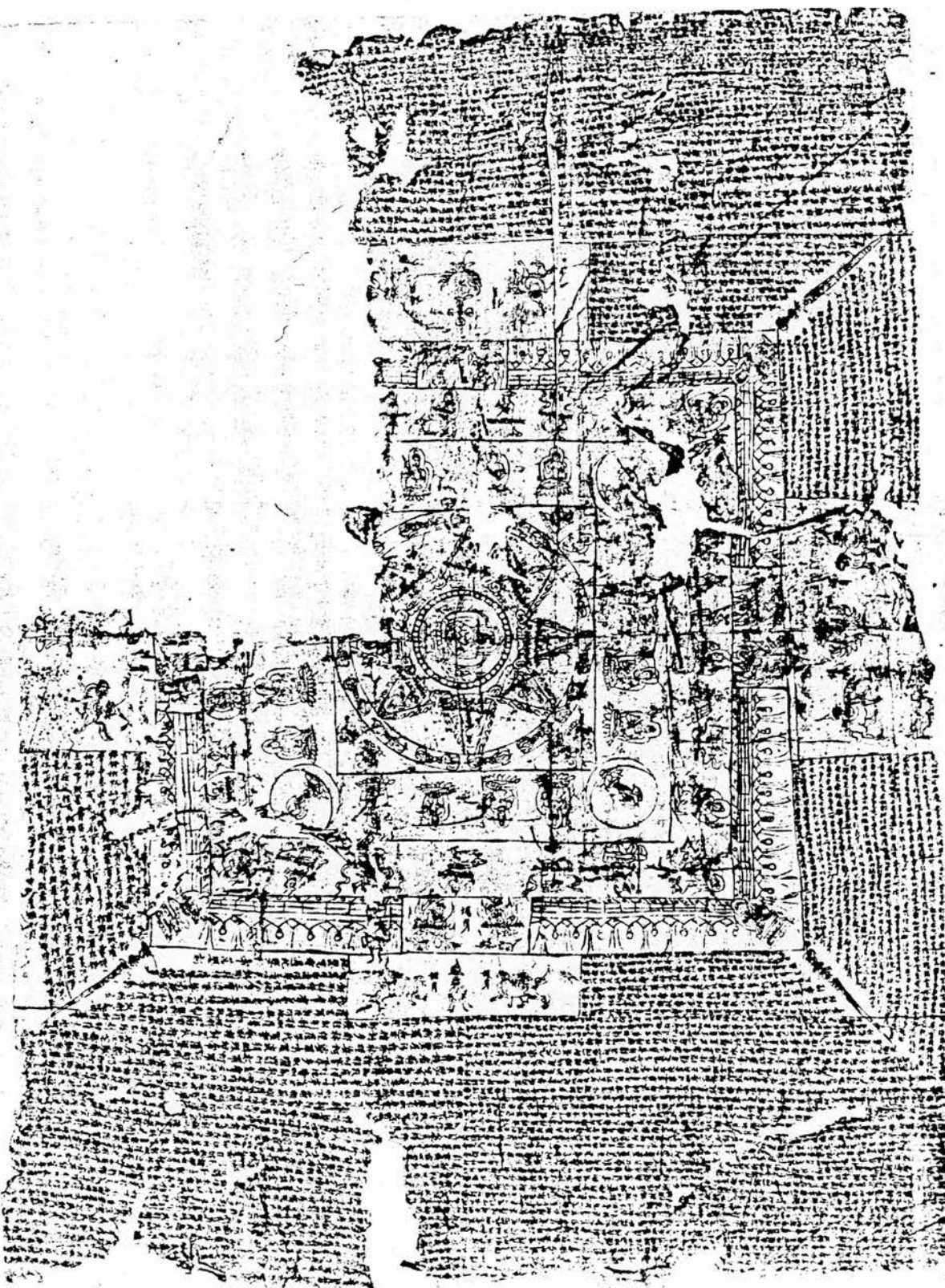
0.42 x 0.122

四 印 曼 荼 羅

Photo British Museum
紙本, British Museum
第 V 章 第 3 節 參 照

Fig.62 A Chinese mandala with four T-shape gates,
discovered in Tunghuang

(Matsumoto, 1937, F.153)



佛頂曼荼羅圖片

Photo British Museum -
紙本墨畫, Collection Stern
第V卷第2節圖照

Fig.63 A Chinese mandala with four T-shape gates discovered
in Tunghuang

(Matsumoto, 1937, F.151)



PLATE IV A Chinese mirror

Fig.64 A Chinese mirror

(Tucci,1974,Plate 4)

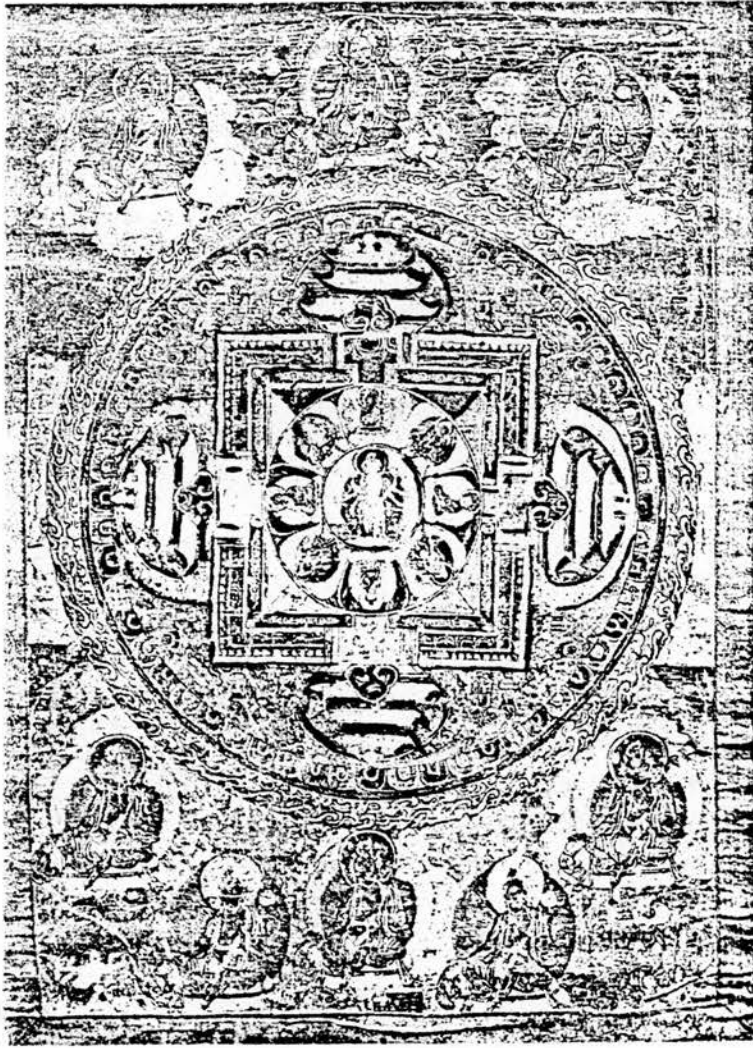


Fig. 159. 西藏畫不空罽索曼荼羅.

(Roerich: Tibetan Paintings, Pl. 14.)

第五章 密教圖像の研究 其一(曼荼羅及び壇場圖)
 その持物が「鈎」(下)・「索」(右)・「鎖」(上)・「鈴」(左)の四種(Fig. 154 参照)である事より考へ
 の四方四門に置かるゝ鈎・索・鎖・鈴を持物とせる金剛鈎・金剛索・金剛鎖・金剛鈴(一)

五七二

Fig.65 A Tibetan mandala with four T-shape gates

(Matsumoto, 1937, F.159)

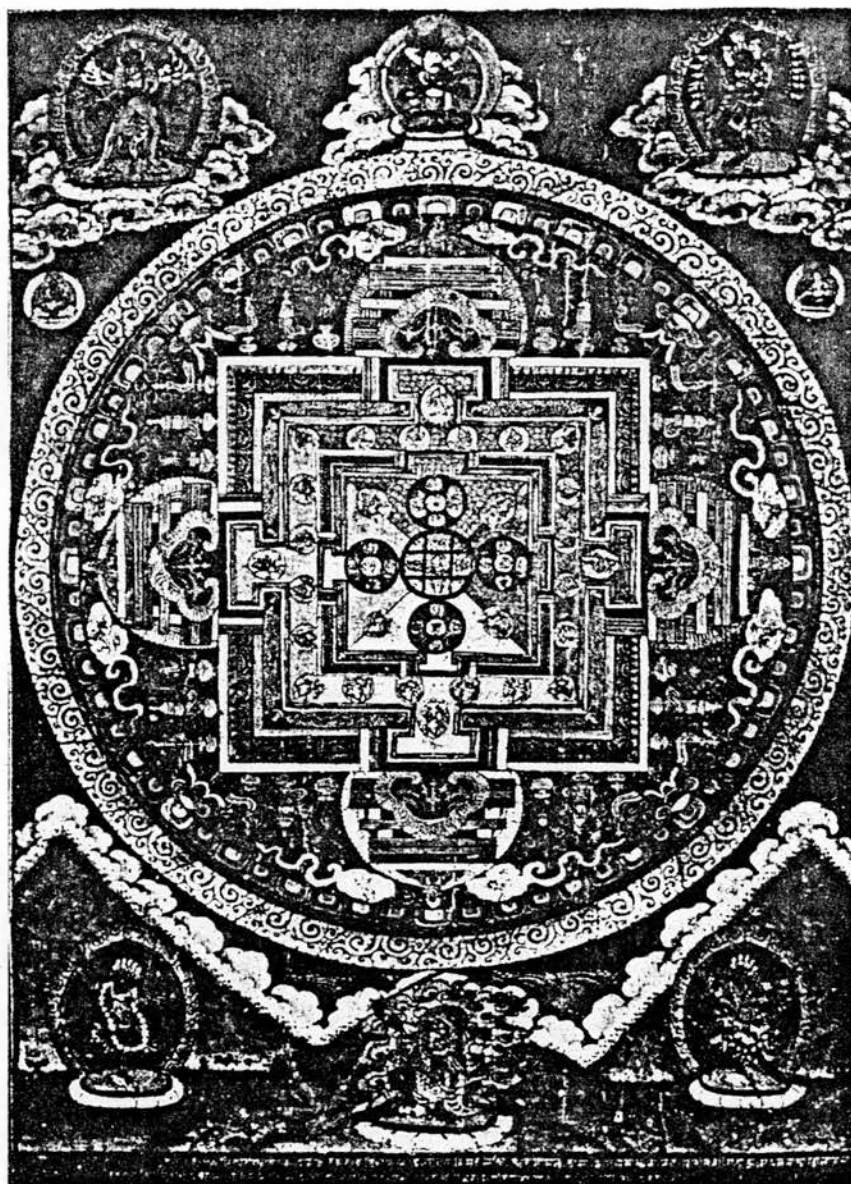


PLATE 1 The Maṇḍala of rDorjeac'añ, the Holder of the Diamond

Fig.66 A Tibetan mandala with four T-shape gates

(Tucci,1974,Plate 1)

the circle and square separate, the ratio of the two sides of the four gates is again ($\sqrt{2}:1$). According to the explanation attached to this mandala (Togano, 1933, Fig. 6), the square part represents the imperial city. It is interesting to see that each of the four gates of the city is also represented as a temple: the double circle in Fig. 67 symbolises here a torii (see 2.3). We may recall that Asuka-dera had the four gates which were called 'temples', and also that Prince Shotoku seems to have built the four major Shitenno-ji style temples as symbols of the defence of the nation.

As we have already indicated (see 4.1) that in the Shitenno-ji style temple, the ratio of the two sides was $\sqrt{2}:1$ not only in the cloister but perhaps also in the four entrances to the pagoda and Kondo. That both pagoda and Kondo have four entrances at each cardinal point, is a unique feature observed only in the Shitenno-ji style temple and the Second Horyu-ji.⁶ Obviously from a practical point of view, it is not necessary for a Kondo or a pagoda to have four entrances. The function of the four entrances must therefore have

6. For example, in Kawahara-dera, which was built during the same period as the Second Horyu-ji, the pagoda and each of the two Kondos had two entrances, while in Yakushi-ji (completed in 695) the Kondo had two entrances but the pagoda had only one.

been symbolic, and this suggests their possible relationship with the four gates of mandala.

The application of the idea and pattern of the mandala to temple design is apparently not unique to the Japanese. Although we know little of the plans of wooden temples of China or Korea, all of which were destroyed and have not yet been excavated, we could assume that the pattern of the mandala had at least some influence on the design of the temple buildings. In fact, as Tucci suggests (1974, p.58), a temple may be essentially an 'architectonic mandala'. According to Tucci (1974, p.23), the ground-plan of the ancient Iranian ruler's imperial city, which corresponds to the basic pattern of a mandala, reflects the view in which a mandala was thought to be the ideal image of the palace. Similarly, the explanatory account attached to the Japanese mandala often refers to the four-gated square as representing a royal palace or castle. We have suggested in the earlier section (see 4.4) that the four Shitenno-ji style temples may have been regarded as four defensive 'gates' of the city state. This idea of four gates, however, seems to have come to be more clearly represented later when the new capital was constructed in Fujiwara-kyo in Asuka (694) and in Heijo-kyo in Nara (710); in each case special importance was attached to the four specific national temples,⁷ which were called 'Four Great Temples'

7. Kawahara-dera, Asuka-dera, Daian-ji and Yakushi-ji were chosen as the Four Great Temples of Fujiwara-kyo while Kofuku-ji, Ganko-ji, Yakushi-ji and Daian-ji were called the Four Great Temples of Heijo-kyo.

of the capital. (Asano, 1977, p.140). As in the case of Shitenno-ji style temples, these Four Great Temples did not stand exactly at each cardinal point of the capital (see Figs. 68, 69), but we can assume that the individual temple designs were not the only framework to realise the idea of the four-gated mandala. So strong was the controlling influence of the temples as defensive symbols that the same effect upon the planning of extended urban areas can be seen in the capital area. The grid of the city plan of Heijo-kyo⁸ (see Fig. 69) falls within the sheltering protection of temples including the 'Four Great Temples' sited around the boundary.

4.5 Significance of the ($\sqrt{2}:1$) ratio

So far we have discussed that special emphasis was laid on the defensive elements in the design of the early Japanese Buddhist temples. Apart from the particular devotion to the Shitenno, the influence of the four-gated mandala pattern, there is another factor which would support our argument - the ($\sqrt{2}:1$) ratio.

The significance of the ($\sqrt{2}:1$) ratio can be seen in its frequent and almost persistent employment in the Shitenno-ji style temple and the Second Horyu-ji. As we shall see later, an attempt to keep this ratio as closely as possible is observed in the cloister of Kawahara-dera as well. Here in this section, we would like to offer a speculative analysis of this particular ratio.

8. The plan of Heijo-kyo largely followed the Chinese City precedent with the notable difference being that while most Chinese towns were surrounded by a defensive wall (Bacon, N, 1967, pp. 235-239), no such wall was ever built at Heijo-kyo.

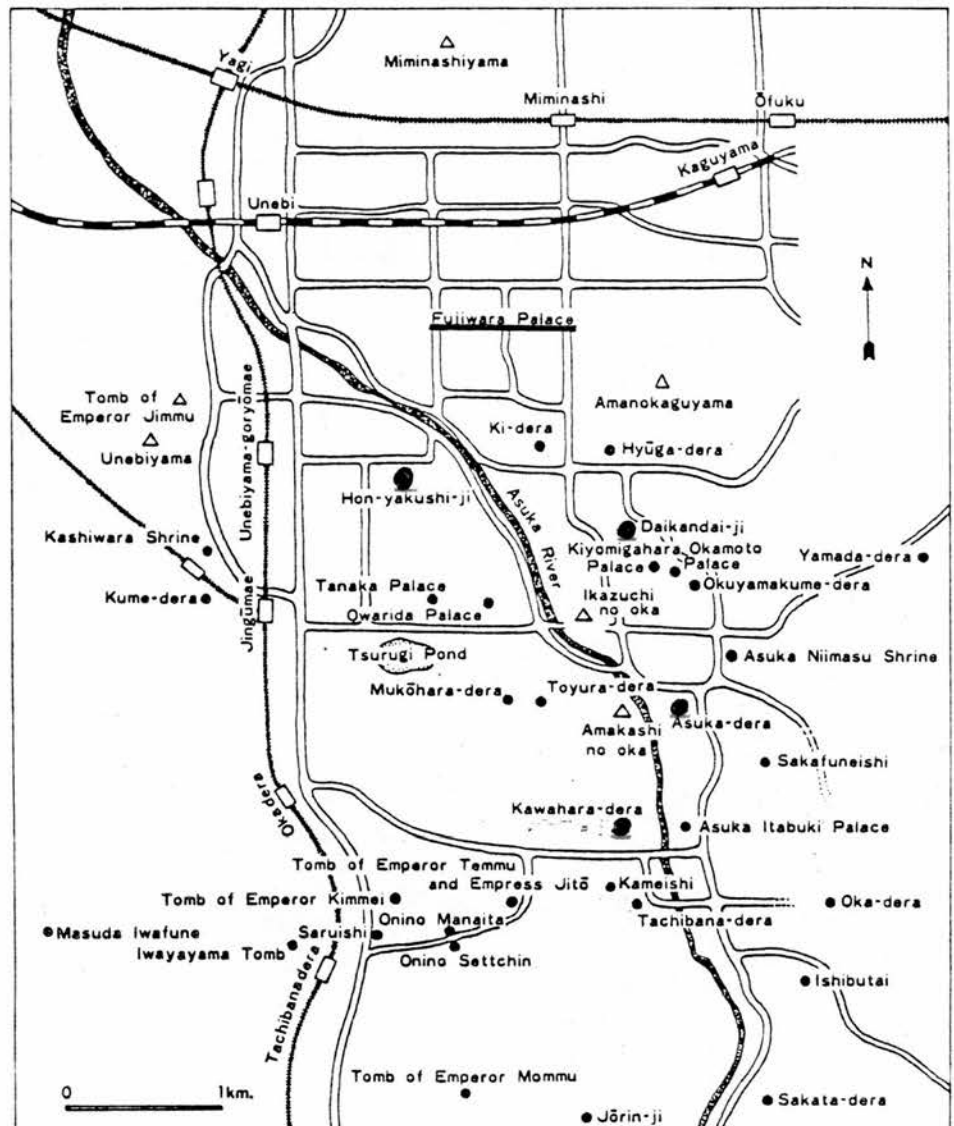


Fig. 26 The Asuka region, Takechi county, Nara prefecture

Fig.68 Locations of the Four Great Temples of Fujiwara-kyo

(Kidder, 1972, F.26)

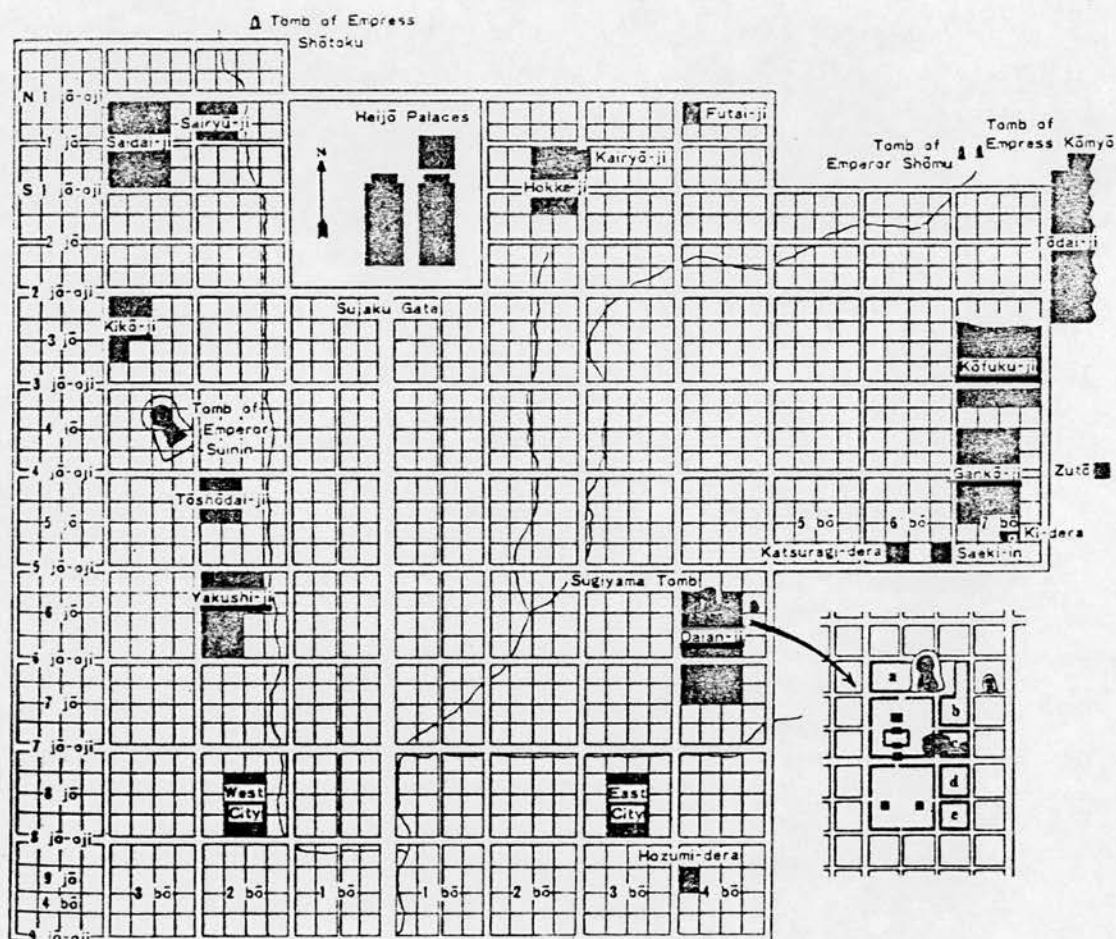


Fig.69 Locations of the major temples in Heijō-kyō, Nara.

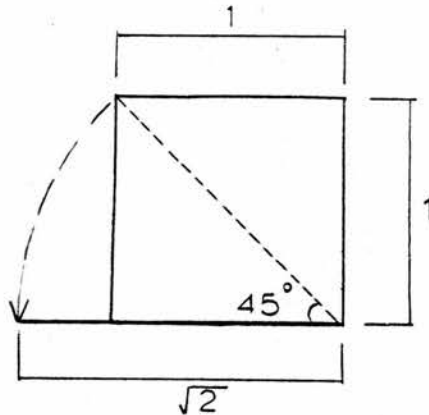
(Note the temples were fitted into the blocks of the city capital.)

(Kidder, 1972, p.45)

— the Four Great Temples of Heijō-kyō

In a Japanese mandala (see Fig. 67), the diagonals of square are given a special name; they are called Bon-sen (梵線), the immaculate line, a line which purifies and cleanses. If we think of the rectangle as an extended square (see Fig. 70),

Fig. 70. Bon-sen and the ($\sqrt{2}:1$) ratio



we can see that when the diagonal of the square is moved through an angle of 45 degrees to lie flush with the lower line of the rectangle, it preserves the same length, and what was a line of purification crossing the square now becomes a line along the outer limit of the temple. My suggestion - which, naturally, needs much further investigation - is that this 'shift' occurred in order to bring the 'immaculate line' into a position on the periphery of the temple (in case of the cloister) or the individual temple building

(in case of the entrance of pagoda and Kondo) to act as a line of purification, thus preventing impure or corrupting elements from entering.

We have already noted that in the Second Horyu-ji plan, the ratio ($\sqrt{2}:1$) can be observed in the two sides of the entrance of Kondo and pagoda. We can, however, find further evidence for the importance of the ratio in its cloister. While the First Horyu-ji was built with the axis of view facing the shorter of the cloister's two sides, the Second Horyu-ji was turned through an angle of 90 degrees, and the facade is now the longer of the two sides (see Fig. 71). If we look at Fig. 71 (b), we shall notice that the positioning of the main double gate is slightly off-centre, there being an extra bay to the right as one looks at it (10 bays to the left, 11 to the right). Thus this mars the symmetry of the facade. Nevertheless, the proportion of the two sides of the cloister preserves the ($\sqrt{2}:1$) ratio.

If in such a design that gives primary importance to external appearance as the Second Horyu-ji (see details in Chapter 5) the ratio had not been significant, it would surely have been dropped. As the 'immaculate line' now corresponds with the facade of the temple, our suggestion of its likely symbolic meaning - as a boundary of purification - will thus be strengthened.

When we look at the plan of Kawahara-dera (see Fig. 72), a temple completed sometime between 661

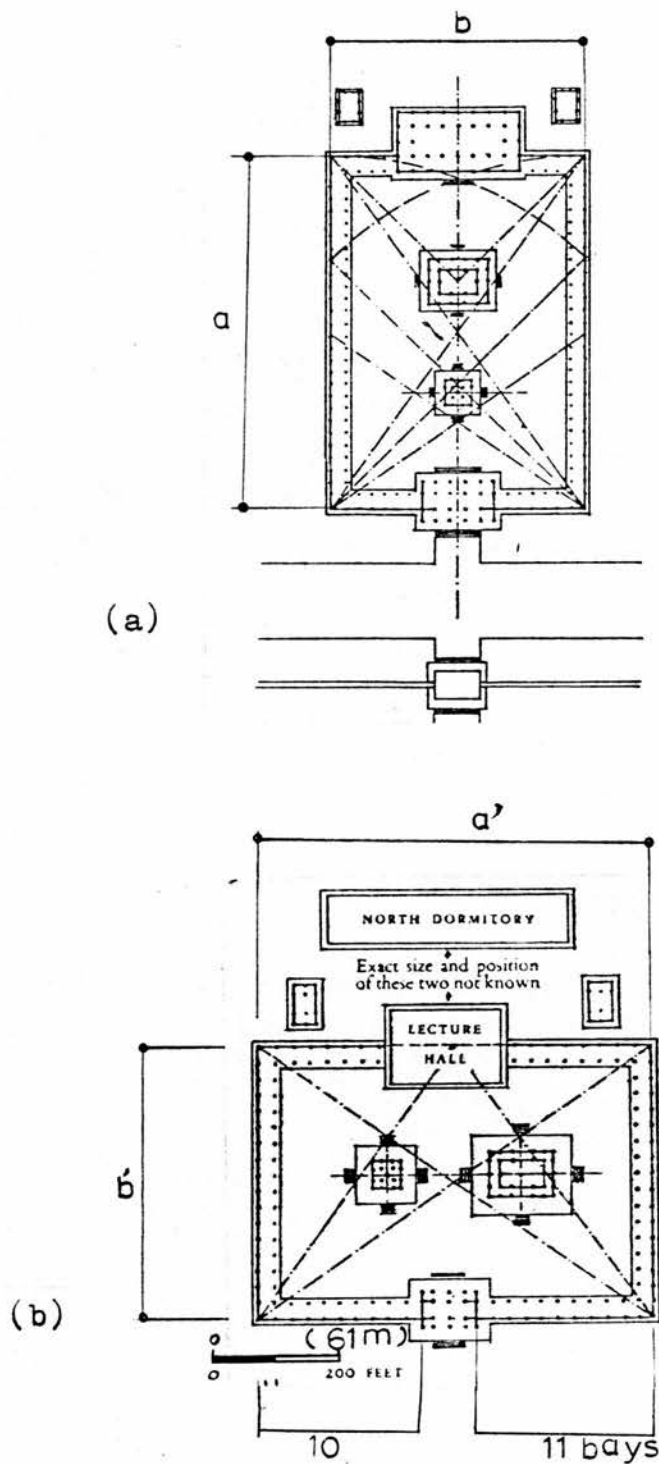


Fig.71

(a) Plan of the Shitenno-ji style temple
(Soper, 1955, p.174)

(b) Plan of the Second Horyu-ji
(Soper, 1955, p.175)

$$a:b=a':b'=\sqrt{2}:1$$

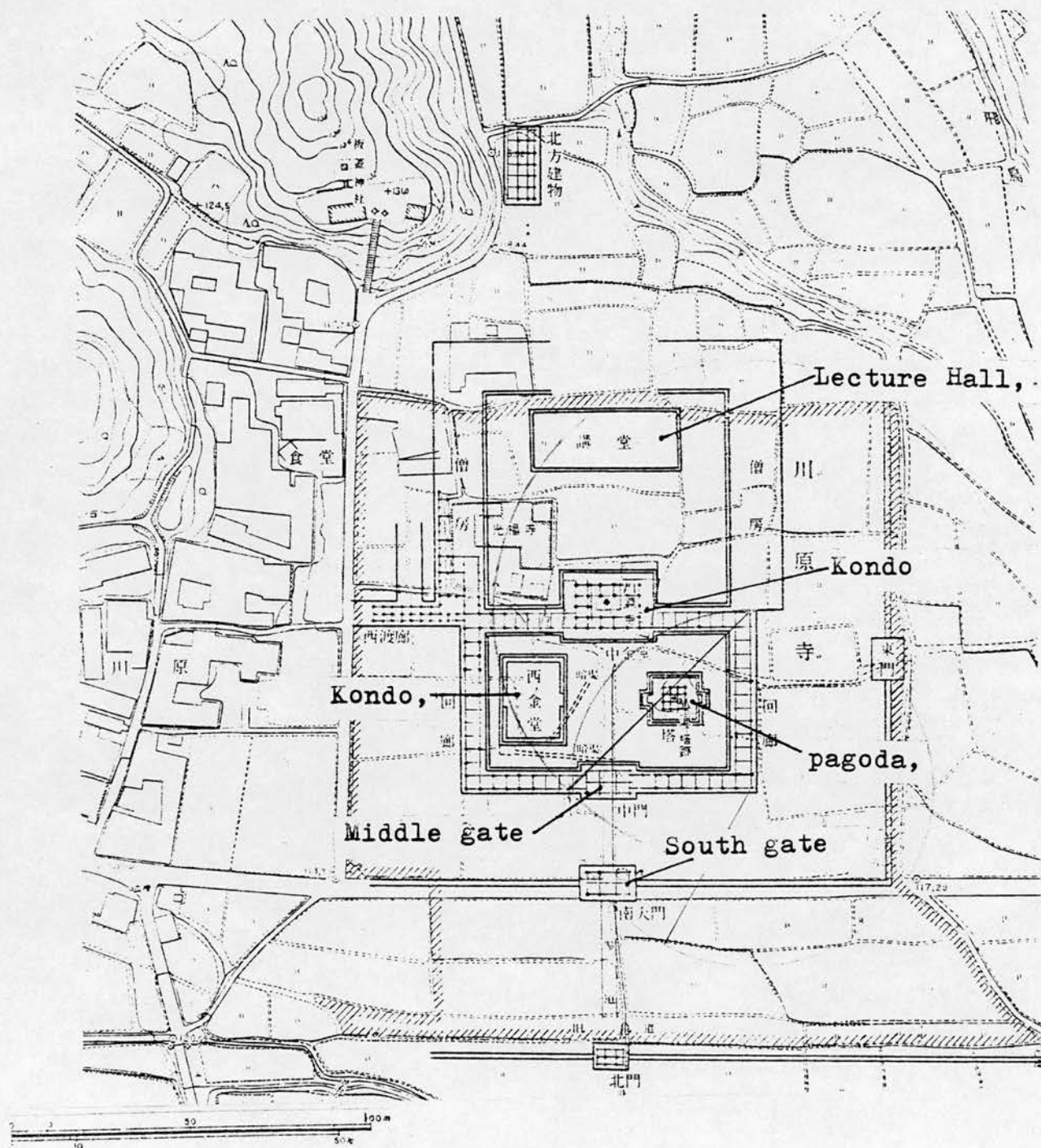


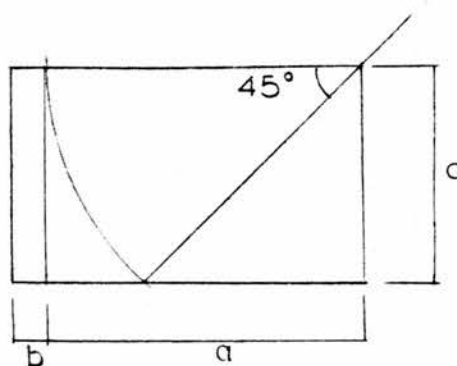
Fig.72 Plan of Kawahara-dera

(N.K.B.K., 1960, Plan 1)

and 667, we notice that the cloister has abandoned the overall proportions of ($\sqrt{2}:1$), but has attempted to remain as close to them as possible. As we shall argue later in 6.3, Kawahara-dera seems to have been the first Japanese temple designed to serve the practical function of accommodating ceremonies inside the cloister. In order to introduce a space between the pagoda and the Kondo, both of these buildings were pushed to the edges of the cloister. If, however, the ($\sqrt{2}:1$) ratio had been unimportant, the cloister could have been widened much further. In fact, the width is increased by only two bays, marked (b) in Fig. 73 below.

Fig. 73. The cloister of Kawahara-dera

$$a:c\sqrt{2}:1$$



The idea of elimination of impurity inside the temple is also expressed with other devices. We may recall that a torii (archway), which seems to have been derived from the Indian torana built at the four sides of the stone fence enclosing the stupa, used to be erected in front of the Buddhist temples (as well as in Shinto shrines) and symbolised purification (see 2.3). Furthermore, the demon-like statues almost always present at the entrance of temples (see Fig. 74) are, according to the usual terminology, named the vighnantaka, that is 'those who put an end to vighna (impediments)'. By 'impediments' is understood those forces which menace the sacred purity of the places where the rites are performed (Tucci, 1974, p.58). These figures are to be found on the edges of the mandalas.

4.7 Conclusions

In this chapter some possible relevance of the Buddhist mandala to the design of the early Japanese temples built during the sixth and seventh centuries has been discussed. At the earliest stage, the Japanese seem to have adopted Buddhism as a guardian religion to justify the rationale of the Imperial system. Therefore, the notion of defence was particularly stressed through the encouragement of the Konkomyo-saisho-o sutra and worship of the Shitenno. What was expressed in the mandala as the spiritual

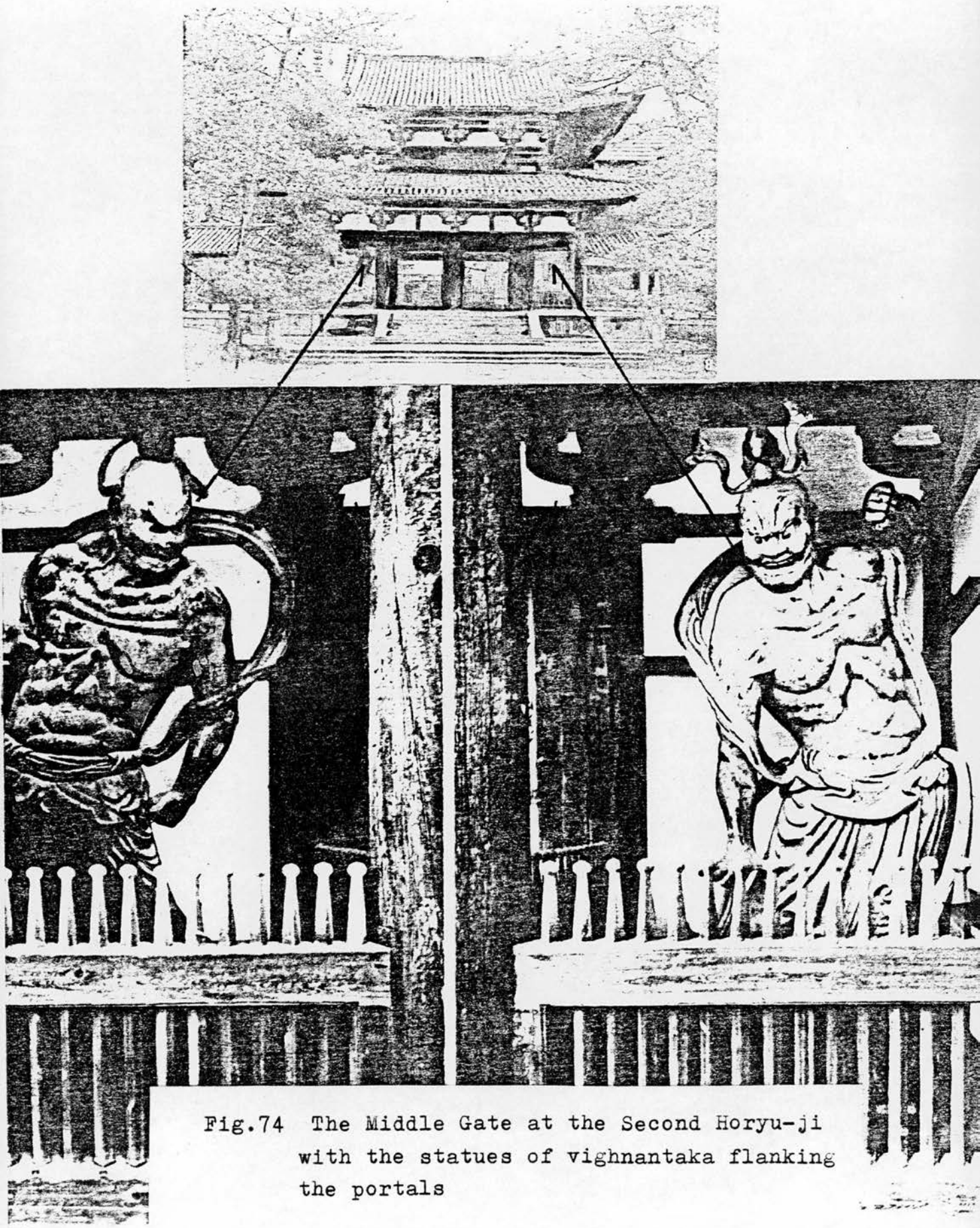


Fig.74 The Middle Gate at the Second Horyu-ji
with the statues of vighnantaka flanking
the portals

(N.R.T.K.,1972,F.85)

guardian from all that lies outside our consciousness was transformed into the defender of the nation in every sense.

At the level of the individual temple, the four gates of the mandala were represented in the four gates of the outer wall (Asuka-dera) or the four entrances of the pagoda and Kondo (Shitenno-ji style temples and the Second Horyu-ji). The influence of the patterning of the mandala could also be observed in the divisions of space of the pagoda and Kondo in the Second Horyu-ji, and therefore, we can assume the same divisions of space had been made in the pagoda and Kondo of the Shitenno-ji style temples.

The defensive nature of the temple was further emphasized by employing the idea of purification in a sense to prevent impure or corrupting elements from entering. Hence the ratio ($\sqrt{2}:1$) observed in the entrances of the pagoda and Kondo or in the periphery of the temple as a whole. The ($\sqrt{2}:1$) ratio came to be abandoned as Buddhist temples acquired a practical function, and the exclusive nature of the cloister faded away in the eighth century. On the other hand, other symbolic purificatory devices such as a torii (archway) and the statues of vighnantaka were preserved in the later temples.

At the level of the capital the temple building itself seems to have been regarded as a

symbolic defence 'gate' which would act as a 'spiritual' fortress of the Imperial system against the potential threat from inside (the powerful clans of the Court) and outside (China and Korea) the nation. Shitenno-ji style temples were the first group of temples in Japanese architectural history to represent explicitly the notion of defence, which was to be transmitted to the Provincial Temples of the mid-8th century.

CHAPTER 5

THE SECOND HORYU-JI

CHAPTER 5

THE SECOND HORYU-JI

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The First Horyu-ji was built in 607 in the Shitenno-ji style, but according to the Nihon Shoki, it was burnt down by a fire in 670. The rebuilding, known as the Second Horyu-ji is believed to have been completed in 708 (N.R.T.K., 1970, @ , p.10). The time when the Second Horyu-ji was built coincided with the establishment of the emperor's ruling power over the whole country, which led to the greatest flowering of art and architecture in Japanese history. The temple is also well-known as the oldest wooden structure in the world still standing and in use.

In 645 there was a coup d'etat against the Sogas, whose abuse of power had provoked a strong hostility among the Imperial families and other officials (Naoki, 1965, p.172). After Soga-no-Iruka, the then head of the Soga family, was assassinated, Emperor Kotoku (645-54) was enthroned, and a series of sweeping changes were initiated in political, administrative and legal systems by the emperor's aide, Prince Nakano-o-e, who was one of the two principal architects of the coup. (see 1.3).

The drastic changes in the various systems were called Taika Reform, by which the framework of the Japanese state was recast on a Chinese (Tang Dynasty) model (Naoki, 1965, p.179). They regulated taxes, set up land allotment methods and established the census, but the most revolutionary change was brought about through the nationalization of all the lands and slaves owned by the provincial clans. In return for the presentation of his land and slaves to the emperor, the head of a clan was given a rank and absorbed into the Imperial bureaucratic system as a local administrative officer.

The administrative power of the Imperial government was further centralised by the Taika Reform, whereas within the Court the Imperial House gained a predominating influence over the other powerful clans: more power was now given to the heir prince, whose status had been equal to that of the high-ranking ministers before the reform (ibid, p.178). Furthermore, according to the re-allocation of land to the common people and the newly regulated tax system, the Imperial income was also rapidly extended. The new taxation system consisted of three kinds of tax: So (租 = rice), Cho (調 = special products of the region) and Yo (徭 = labour). Yo, which meant an annual labour duty of 75 days by an adult male, was the most important factor that enabled the Imperial government to launch a series of large-scale

construction ventures (Tanabe, 1974, p.130). Apart from the provincial labour force which was perpetually siphoned off by demands from the capital, building materials were provided through the collection of Cho.

The new government issued an edict in 645 stating that Buddhism should be further encouraged (Kodama et al, 1971, p.5), but at the same time, as had been the case with the policy of Empress Suiko (see 3.5), it also set up a governmental post, Jisshi (十師). This post supervised the monks and nuns, and three other posts were also created to control the activities of Buddhist temples (Naoki, 1965, p.185). After Emperor Kotoku, the emperors from the seventh to the eighth century were actively involved in building temples, palaces and other public construction works to flaunt their authority and power. Both the number and size of the Buddhist temples were increased. The Nihon Shoki records that in 680 there were at least 24 Buddhist temples in the capital of Asuka.

During the seventh century the emperor gained complete control over the whole nation, and his status as the sole political ruler was firmly established. An example indicating the indisputedly secure position attained by the emperor can be seen in the poem written in 673 in the Manyoshu (the oldest collection of poetry in Japan), in which the emperor is described as 'God' (Naoki, 1965, pp. 342-43). It is known that the idea

of admiring the emperor as 'God' existed from ancient Japan, but the literal expression of this idea appeared only in the late seventh century. Around this time, it became customary for the emperor to call himself 'God' in official documents (Naoki, 1965, p.343). This consolidated and stabilised Imperial system is the key factor in explaining why this period witnessed Japan's architectural 'Golden Age' - its architectural efflorescence.

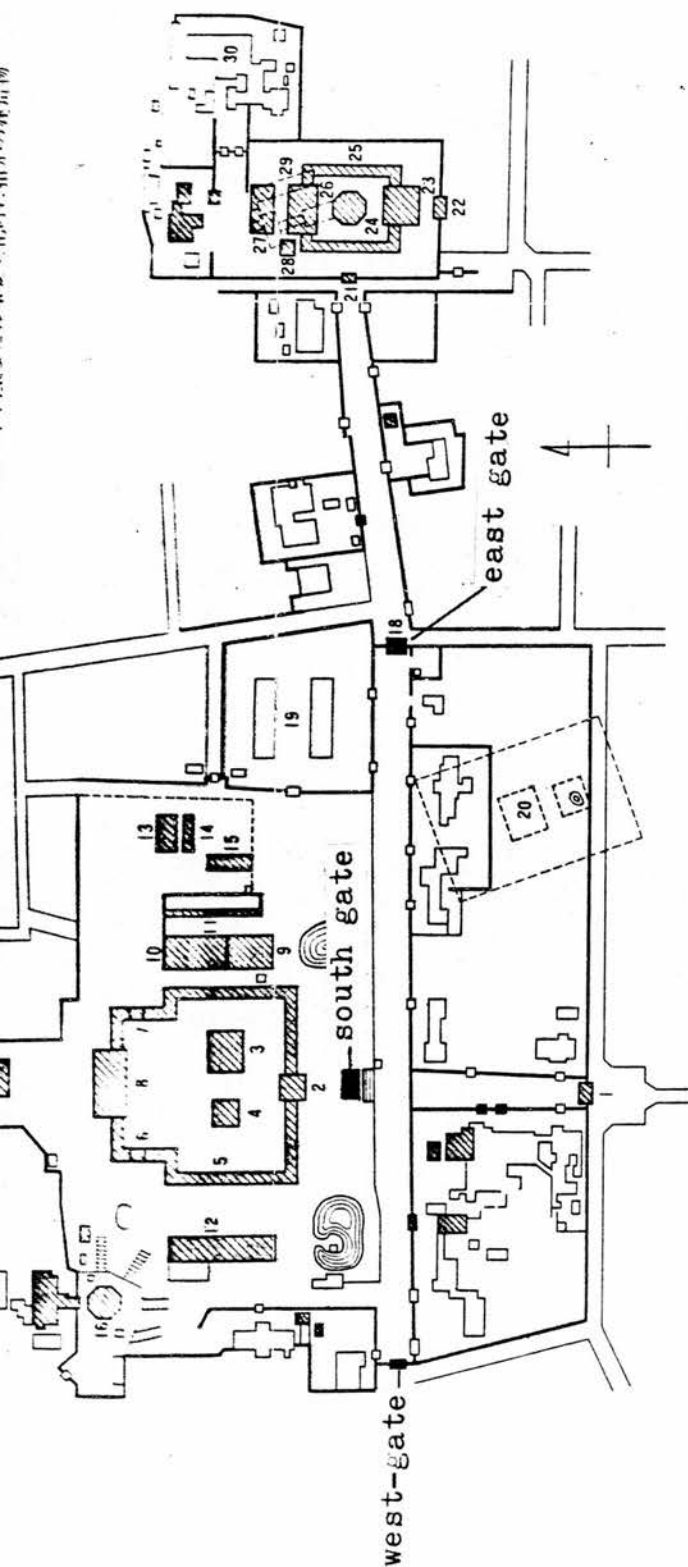
Along with the establishment of Imperial power, there was another important development which was to affect Japanese temple design - the spread of Buddhism to a wider range of people. In 685, for example, an edict was issued ordering every household in all provinces to make a family Buddhist altar and to worship Buddha (ibid, p.360). It is, of course, inconceivable that this instruction was faithfully observed, but it is an indication that Buddhism began to infiltrate into the life of the common people. With the popularization of Buddhism the temples came to be required to fulfill the practical function of accommodating celebrants inside. Following the Chinese custom, music began to be performed within the cloister, and the exclusive separateness of the temple gradually diminished. A detailed analysis of these 'practically designed' temples will be given in the following chapter. The Second Horyu-ji, however,

seems to have successfully maintained and refined the traditional symbolic function of the Japanese temples up to that point; both Asuka-dera and Shitenno-ji style temples were, in principle, temples to be looked at from the outside. In this chapter an attempt will be made to explain the significance of the Second Horyu-ji mainly by evaluating the importance attached to its external effect.

5.2 Plan

The present Horyu-ji is composed of two main parts, the Sai-in (the west sub-temple) and the To-in (the east sub-temple). My argument in this chapter will be concerned only with the Sai-in, which is the replacement temple built after 670 and is situated north and west of the ruined First Horyu-ji. The To-in is an eighth century memorial to Prince Shotoku on the spot occupied by the Ikaruga palace, which he built in 601 (Kidder, 1972, p.96). The temple buildings are in existence today, but they will be described here as they were in earlier times.

Compared with the Shitenno-ji style, the layout of the Second Horyu-ji shows a unique variation, though the plan of the individual building is similar (see Fig. 75). Within the cloister the five-storeyed pagoda and the two-storeyed Kondo stand not on a longitudinal axis but alongside each other, the former on the west and the latter on the east. Both the



法隆寺伽藍配置

西院伽藍 Sai-in (Western Quarters).

- 1 南大門 Nandaimon (South Main Gate).
- 2 中門 Chūmon (Middle Gate).
- 3 金堂 Kondō (Main Hall).
- 4 五重塔 Five-Storied Pagoda.
- 5 迴廊 Kairō (Corridor).
- 6 經藏 Kyōzō (Sutra Repository).
- 7 鐘樓 Shurō (Belfry).
- 8 大講堂 Dai-Kōdō (Lecture Hall).
- 9 聖靈院 Shōryō-in.
- 10 東室 Higashi-muro (Eastern living quarters).
- 11 妻室 Tsuma-muro (Living quarters).
- 12 三經院 Sangyō-in & Nishi-muro (Western living quarters).
- 13 食堂 Jikidō (Refectory).
- 14 細殿 Hosodono.
- 15 欄封藏 Kōfūzo (Repository).

16 西円堂 Saien-dō (West Octagonal Hall).

- 17 上御堂 Kami-no-Midō.
- 18 東大門 Tōdaimon (East Main Gate).
- 19 大宝藏殿 Daihōzōden (Treasure Repository).
- 20 若草伽藍跡 Building site of the First Horyu-ji.
- 東院伽藍 Tō-in (Eastern Quarters).
- 21 四脚門 Shikyakumon (Gateway).
- 22 南門 Nanmon (South Gate).
- 23 礼堂 Raidō (Worship Hall).
- 24 夢殿 Yumedono (Octagonal Hall).
- 25 迴廊 Kairō (Corridor).
- 26 絵殿および舍利殿 Eden & Shariden (Picture Hall & Sarira Hall).
- 27 伝法堂 Dempōdō.
- 28 鐘樓 Shurō (Belfry).
- 29 斑鳩宮跡 Building site of Ikaruga Palace.
- 30 中宮寺 Chūgū-ji Temple.

Fig.75 Site plan of the Sai-in and To-in of Horyu-ji (Kuno, 1966, p.227)

pagoda and Kondo stand on the two-fold stone platform. We have already discussed in the previous chapter (see 4.6) the significance of the fact that while Shitenno-ji style temples were built with the axis of view facing the shorter of the cloister's two sides, the Second Horyu-ji was turned through an angle of 90 degrees. At the front is the Middle Gate, and to the south of the Middle Gate is the South Gate. The South Gate is flanked by the East Gate and West Gate further to the south. The Lecture Hall stands far back outside the cloister.¹ Before the Lecture Hall stand the bell-tower and sutra repository, on the east and west sides respectively. The sutra repository was built in the Nara period (710-793), and the existing bell-tower was rebuilt some time in the Heian period (794-1191) after the original one had been burnt down (Kuno, 1966, p.62).

In the record of a detailed inventory compiled in 747 (Horyu-ji Engi Shizai-cho), the name, size and number of the constituent buildings correspond with those of the existing buildings except for the Lecture Hall, which was not mentioned in the inventory. Some

1. The Lecture Hall was destroyed by fire in 925 and replaced by another building in 990. There was argument over the location of the original Lecture Hall as to whether it had stood inside or outside the cloister, but the excavation carried out from 1935 to 1938 confirmed that it stood outside the cloister. (Kuno, 1966, p. 160).

historians (e.g. Asano quoted in Kidder, 1972, p.99) assume that the Lecture Hall had not yet been built in 747, and speculate that at that time the refectory, whose dimensions as recorded in the inventory are close to those of the existing Lecture Hall, was also used as a lecture hall.

One of the most prominent features of the Second Horyu-ji is the emphasis that is laid on three-dimensional harmony rather than on symmetry in the plan. This presents a striking contrast to the Shitenno-ji style temple. The cloister is one bay longer on the east side than on the west side, and it thus provides more space around the Kondo, which occupies a larger area than the pagoda. On the other hand, the pagoda is roughly twice the height of the Kondo and both occupy approximately the same amount of cubic space and thus balance each other (Kidder, 1972, p.98).

A consideration of the external panoramic setting will be fully discussed later, with particular reference to the choice of the site (see 5.3) and the roof lines (see 5.4), but here we would like to point out that the design of the individual building also appears to be dominated by a concern for external effect. It is clear from Table III that the height of the entrance of each building is different. The module of the buildings is obviously not human size

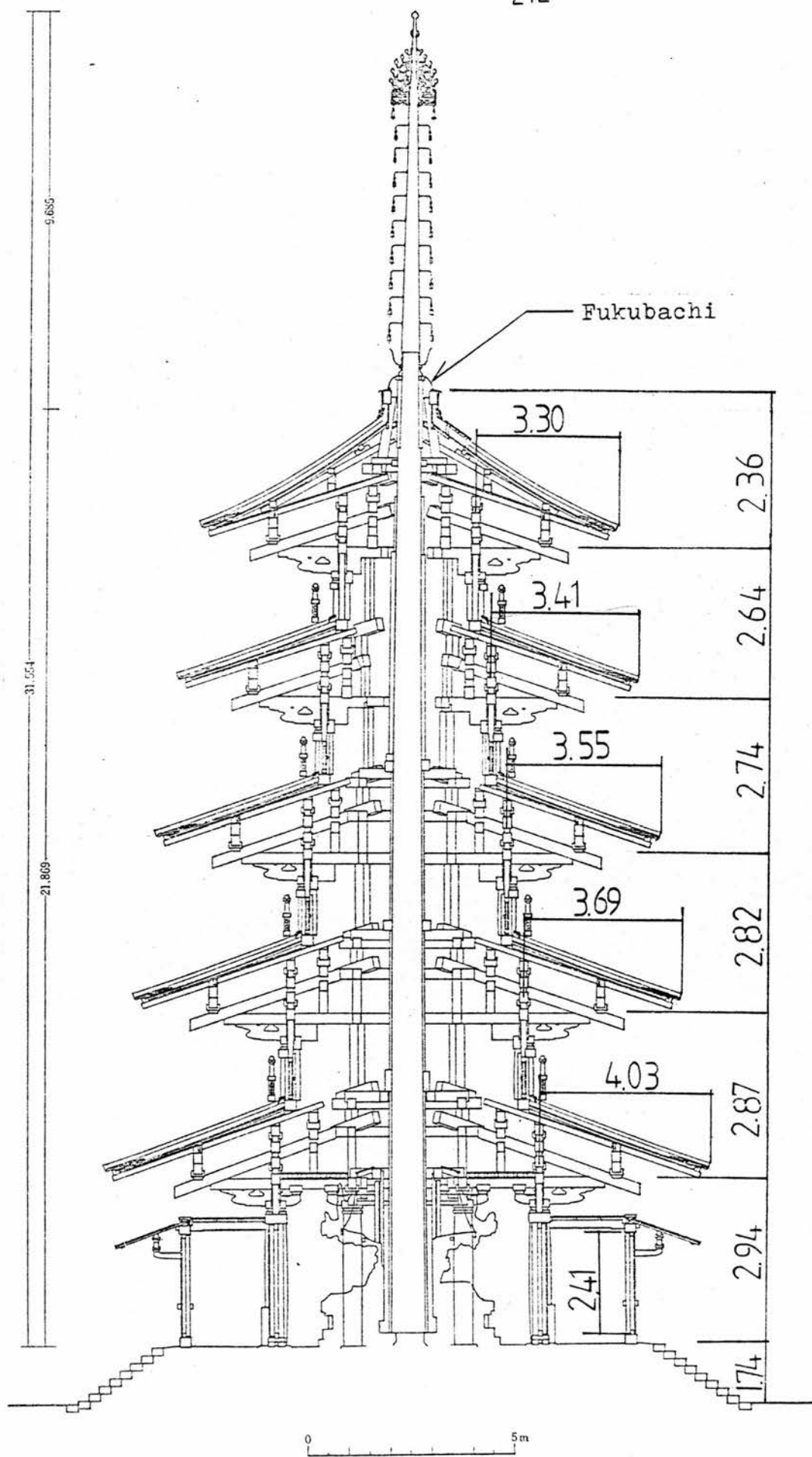
TABLE III THE HEIGHT OF THE ENTRANCE OF THE
INDIVIDUAL BUILDINGS IN THE SECOND HORYU-JI²

building	height (m)
pagoda	2.41
Kondo	2.77
sutra repository	2.70
bell tower	2.00
Middle Gate	3.44
Lecture Hall	4.55
To-shitsu	1.80

(normally 1.8m in Japan) as observed in the To-shitsu (the monks' quarter on the east side) built in the To-in at the beginning of the eighth century. The height of the entrance must have been determined with a view to balance in the external appearance of each building.

Another important aspect of the Second Horyu-ji is its exclusive separateness. As the Lecture Hall was pushed back outside the cloister, the inside of the cloister acquired the secluded nature of a sanctuary, and the unique two openings of the Middle Gate enhanced this effect. It should also be noted here that the South Gate stands far apart from the

2. The figures are calculated on the basis of Figs. 76-82.



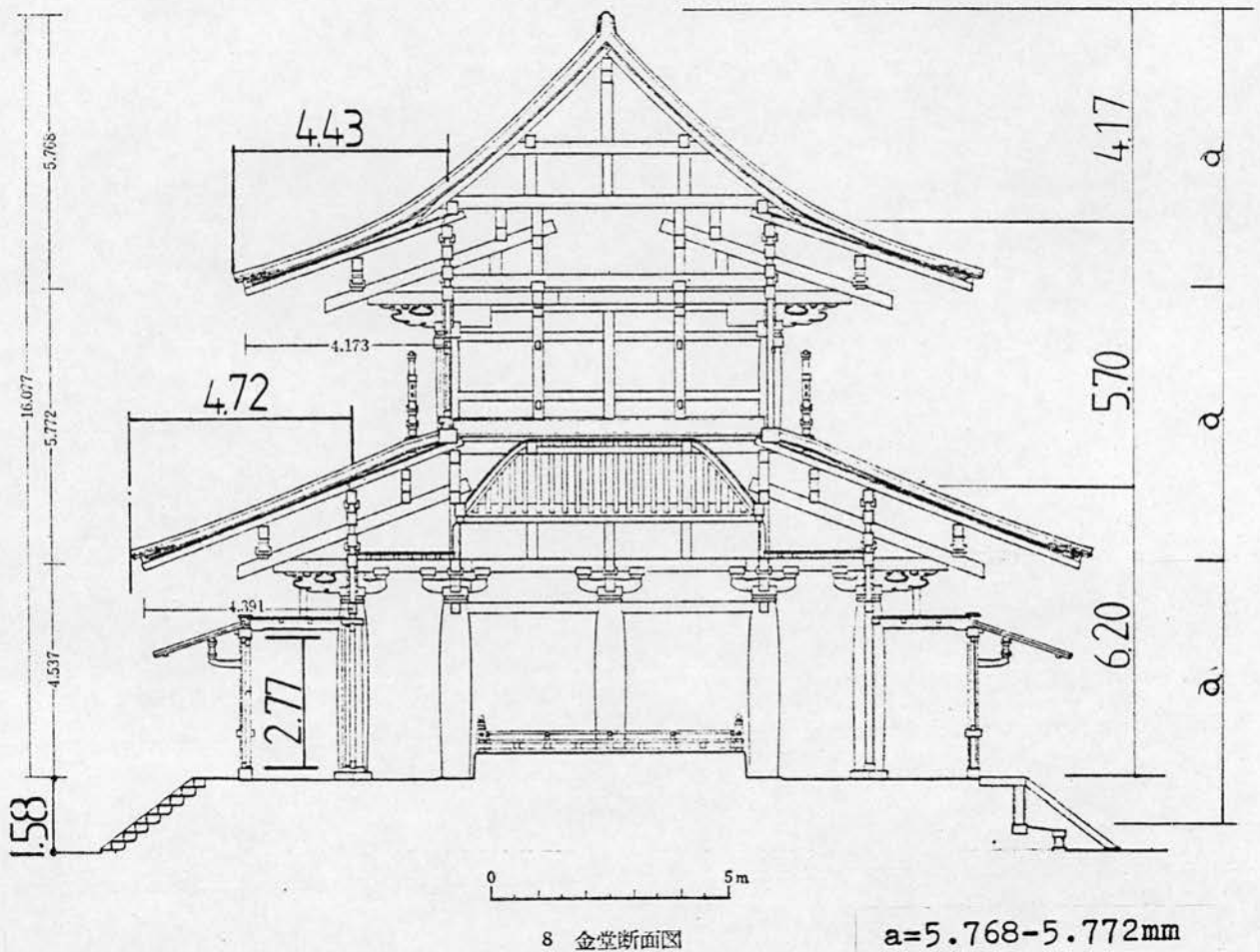
14 五重塔断面图

Fig.76 section of the Second Horyu-ji pagoda

(N.R.T.K., 1970 (a), F.14)

Fig.77 Section of the Second Horyu-ji Kondo

(N.R.T.K.,1970 (a),F.8)



In traditional Japanese wooden building the most important constructional element is the junction between the wall line and the roof - the height of the eaves at the ground and first floor levels, marked on the diagram by the two dotted lines. Here, however, the over-riding principle is the positioning of the line of the eaves: the lines of the eaves divide the building into three equal parts (a-a-a) and are adjusted to harmonise with other roof lines in the temple complex.

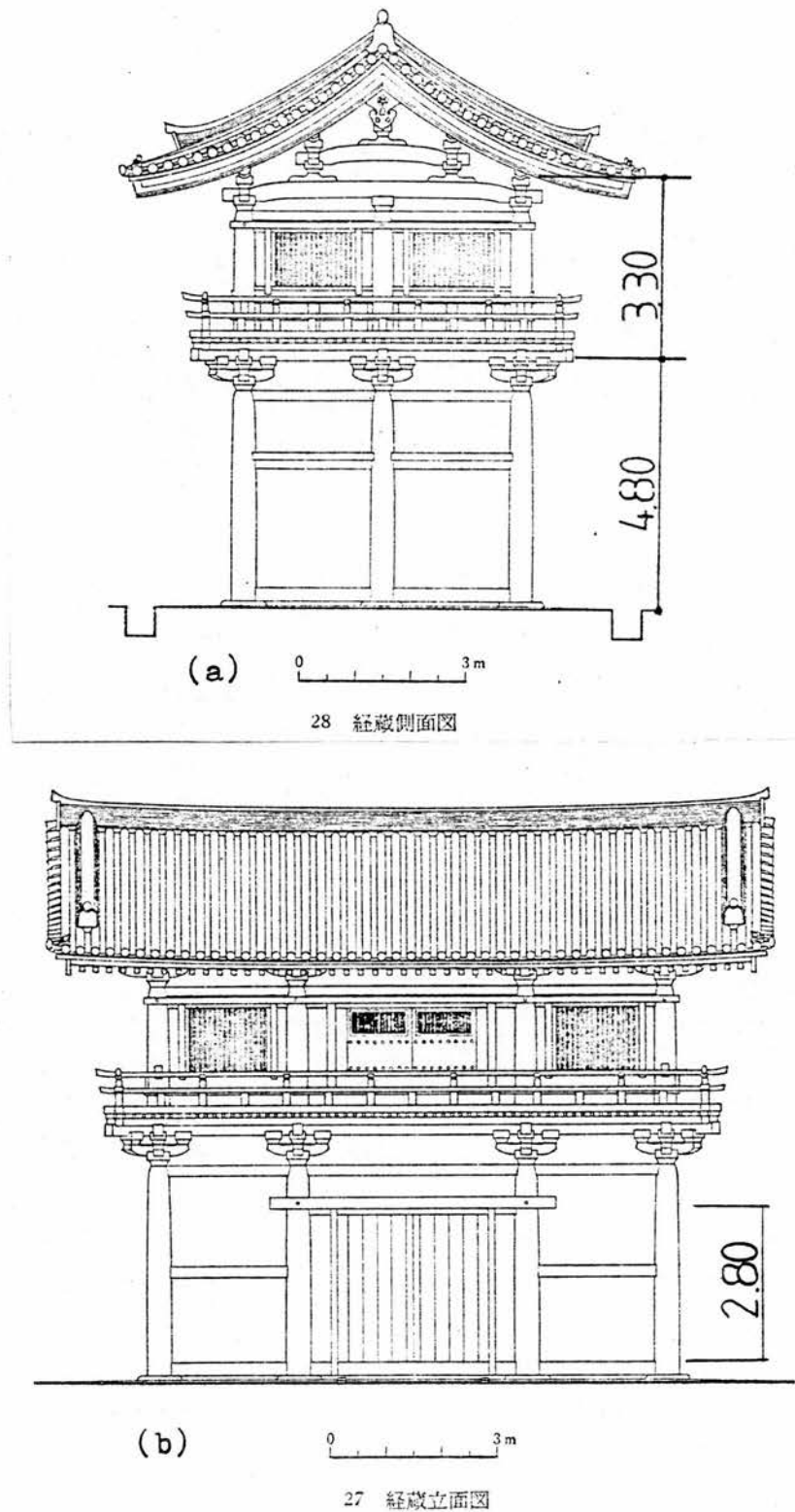


Fig.78

- (a) Side elevation of the Second Horyu-ji sutra repository
(N.R.T.K., 1970 (a), F.28)
- (b) Front elevation of the Second Horyu-ji sutra repository
(N.R.T.K., 1970 (a), F.27)

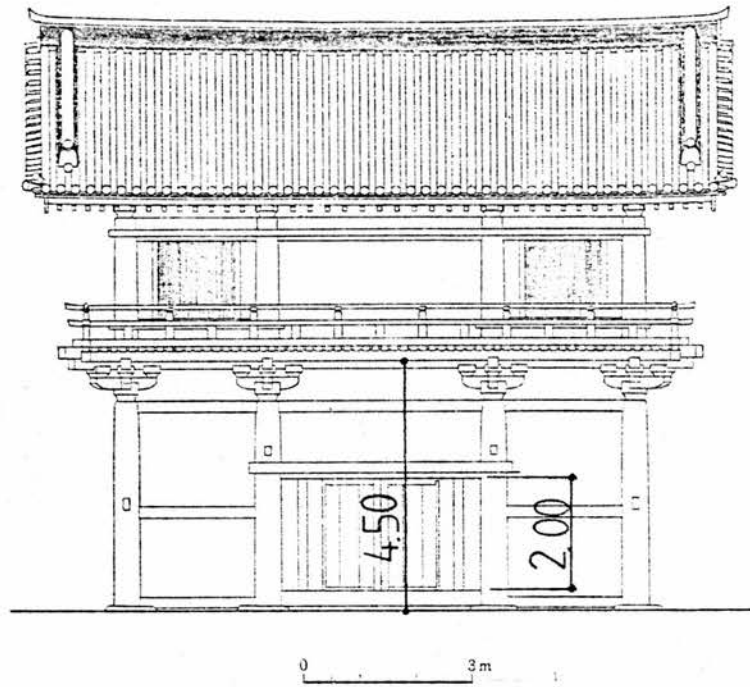
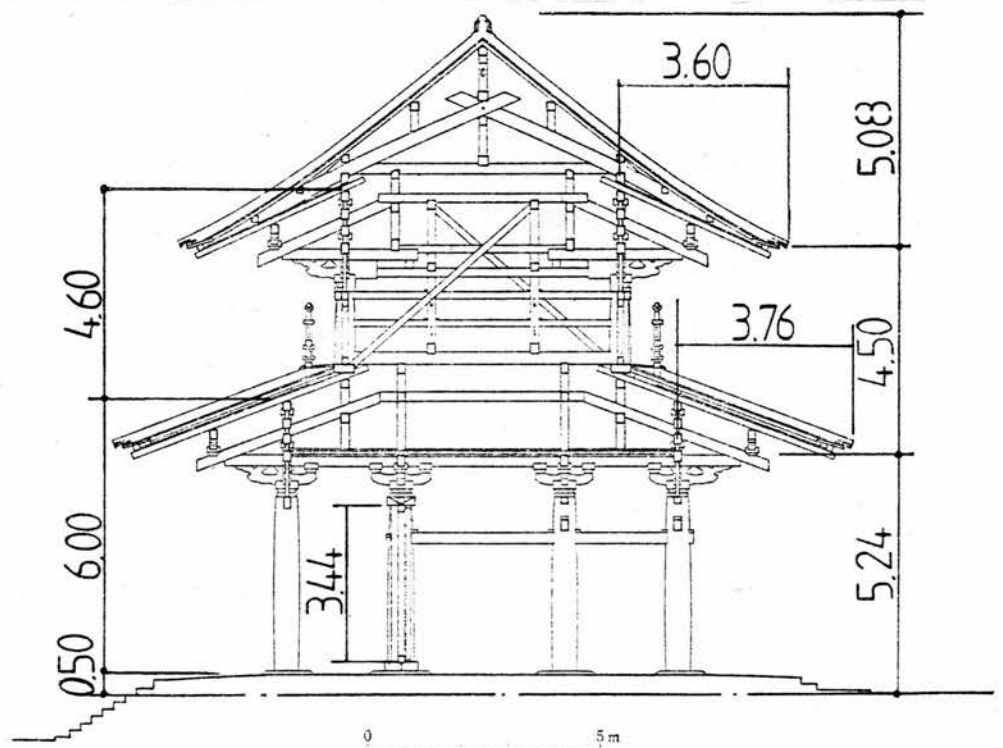


Fig.79 Front elevation of the Second Horyu-ji bell tower
(N.R.T.K.,1970 (a),F.30)



19 中門現状断面図

Fig.80 Section of the Second Horyu-ji Middle Gate
(N.R.T.K.,1970 (a),F.19)

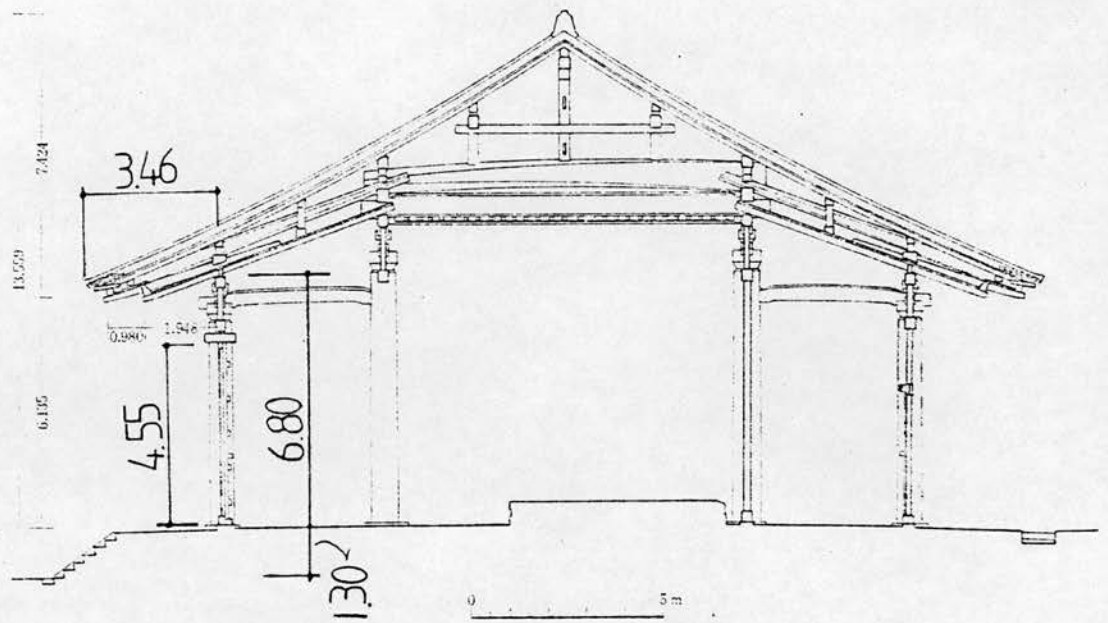
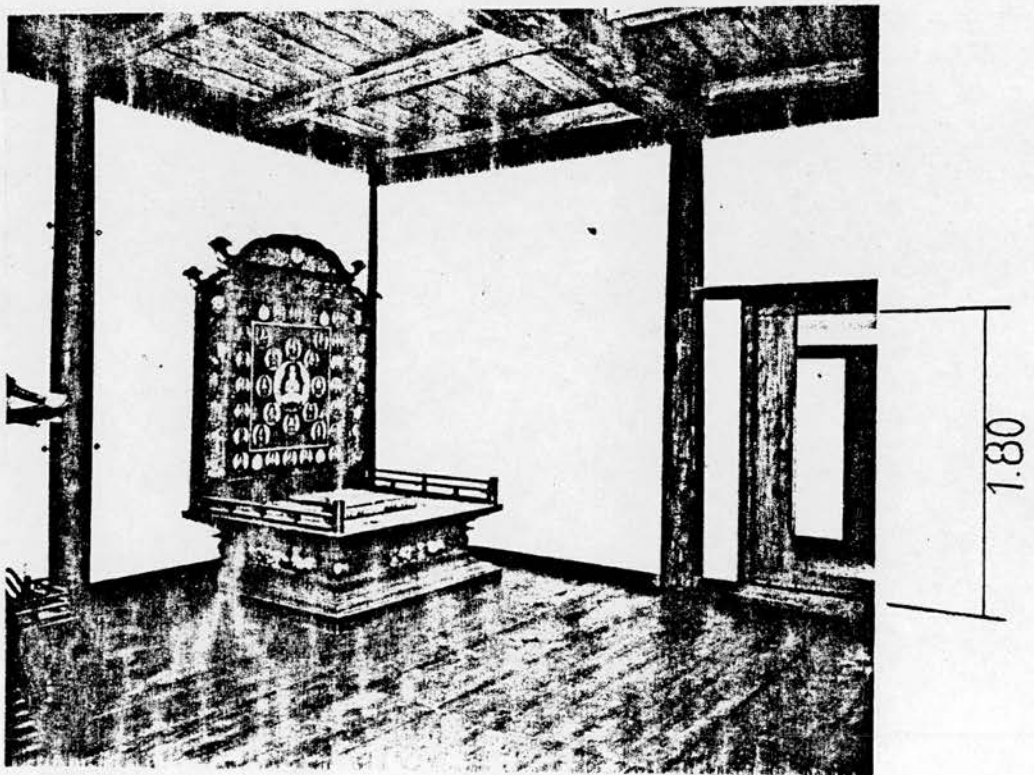


Fig.81 Section of the Second Horyu-ji Lecture Hall
(N.R.T.K.,1970 (a),F.24)



33 東室内部(復原の間)

Fig.82 Inside of Toshitsu

(N.R.T.K.,1970 (a),F.33)

Middle Gate. In fact, the distance between the South Gate and the Middle Gate of the Second Horyu-ji is approximately 37m, which is more than twice as long as the corresponding distance in Kawahara-dera or Yakushi-ji, built during the same period. The Middle Gate is flanked by two ponds, which are reminiscent of the moat surrounding the Imperial mounds (see 2.3). In fact, Kidder points out (1972, p.79) that there are several eighth century Provincial Temples (see 4.4) which were enclosed by a mound and a moat.

Kidder (1972, p.98) commented on the Second Horyu-ji garan³ as follows:

"In fact, a full view of the interior of the garan from the Middle Gate could hardly be called 'Japanese' at all. It lacks the piecemeal revelation and the elements of mystery so highly praised by at least later aestheticians"

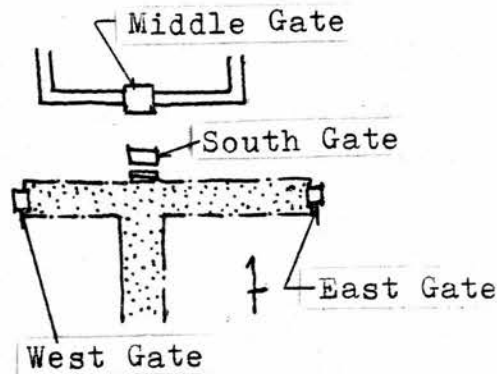
(the emphasis is the present writer's)

First of all, choosing to view the garan from the Middle Gate is unwise. The gate accessible to the common people at this time was not the Middle Gate but the South Gate. The eighth century Horyu-ji inventory refers to the Middle Gate and the South Gate as 'Butsu-mon' (Buddha's gate) and the East and West Gates as 'Zoku-mon' (laymen's gate) (N.R.T.K., 1970, (a), p.20). The Butsumon was regarded as the gate only for Buddha or 'the person equal to Buddha'

3. the cloistered area and its buildings

Therefore, one may assume that only the emperor (attended by his entourage) and perhaps a limited number of monks passed through these two gates: the area allowed to the ordinary worshipper was restricted to the shaded space in Fig. 83 below.

Fig. 83. THE AREA ALLOWED TO THE ORDINARY WORSHIPPER OUTSIDE THE SECOND HORYU-JI.



As was the case with the Ise Shrine (see 2.9), the Second Horyu-ji was designed to be viewed from a distance (see details in 5.3). Although the south side of the cloister was the plaster wall, which obstructed the view from the front, the east and west sides were wooden lattice walls,⁴ which would allow the viewer to peep into the cloister and so obtain a rough picture by putting together the incomplete views from different angles. This

4. As the north side wall was burned down we do not know whether it was a plastered or lattice work.

lattice wall appears to have served a similar function as the white silk screen put up at the south gateway of the second fence of the Ise Shrine Naiku sanctuary, which acted as a veil to protect the inner space dedicated to the Great Deity (see 2.9). Thus Kidder does not seem to be correct in his observation; the supreme importance of the external view, which can be typically observed in the Second Horyu-ji as well as in the Ise Shrine, was one of the main preoccupations of Japanese monumental architecture (for a full discussion, see 7.4). In this sense, early Japanese state temples would make a clear contrast with the stone cave temples which flourished in the northern part of China from the mid-fourth century to the early sixth century. There was little room for external considerations in cave temples; the outside observer could see only a big hole, the entrance to the cavern. The temple had to be entered to acquire some meaning. The inner space of the temple, on which every architectural and artistic effort was concentrated, had the practical function of accommodating worshippers.

The final point to be mentioned is that much greater importance is attached to the Kondo in the Second Horyu-ji than was the case with earlier temples. In fact, the Kondo is given the most elaborate treatment and emphasis among the constituent buildings of the Second Horyu-ji; there is a meticulous adjustment of inner and

outer space, while the inner walls are covered with the most splendid frescoes in Japanese art history. All of these details appear to have been designed for the reception of a limited number of visitors. A detailed analysis of the Kondo will be made later in 5.5.

5.3 Site

While the First Horyu-ji was built upon flat ground (see Fig. 84), the Second Horyu-ji was built upon a slightly sloping site (see Fig. 85). It must have been a most unusual decision to change the site for the replacing building, judging from other examples of the re-building of destroyed temples.^{5a} Furthermore, the chosen site was an awkward piece of ground for the erection of a complex group of buildings. In places the hillside had to be cut into and rocks removed while swamp lower down the hillside had to be filled in.

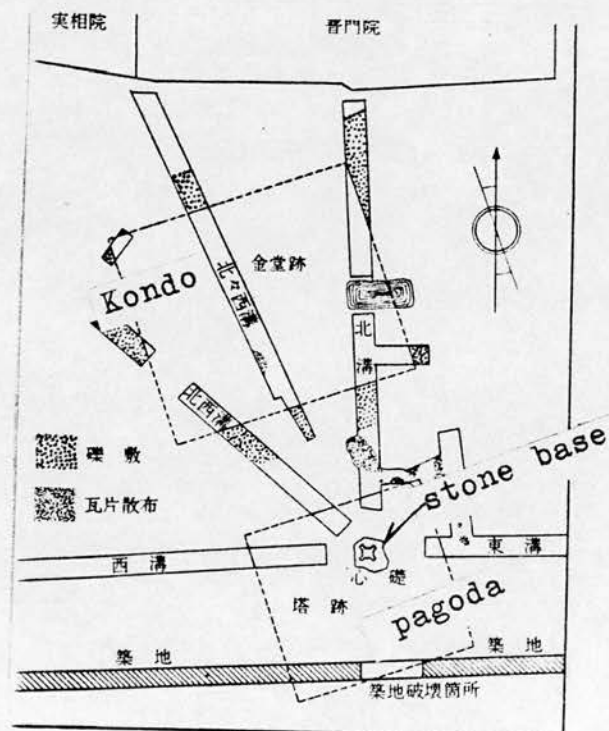
A brief mention has already been made of the fact that the disposition of the buildings at the Second Horyu-ji appears to have been intended to produce a depth of perspective for external observers. It seems clear here that the siting of the temple was chosen so

5a. For example, temples such as Asuka-dera, Tachibana-dera, Shitenno-ji and Koryu-ji were re-built on the same spot as the original temples after they had been burnt down by fire.

Fig.84 Site view of the First Horyu-ji



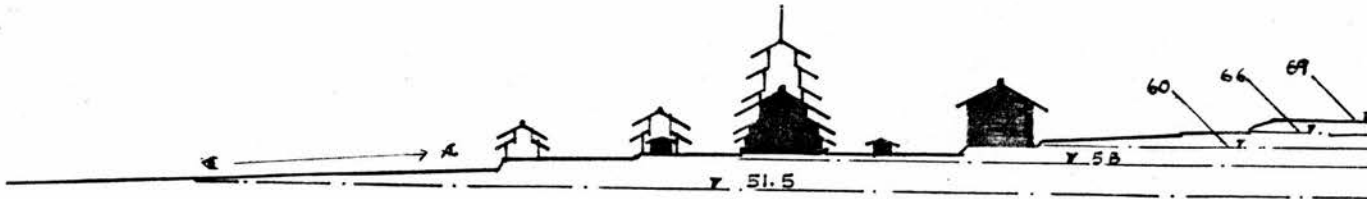
(a) Stone base of pagoda at the First Horyu-ji
(N.R.T.K., 1970 (a), F.11)



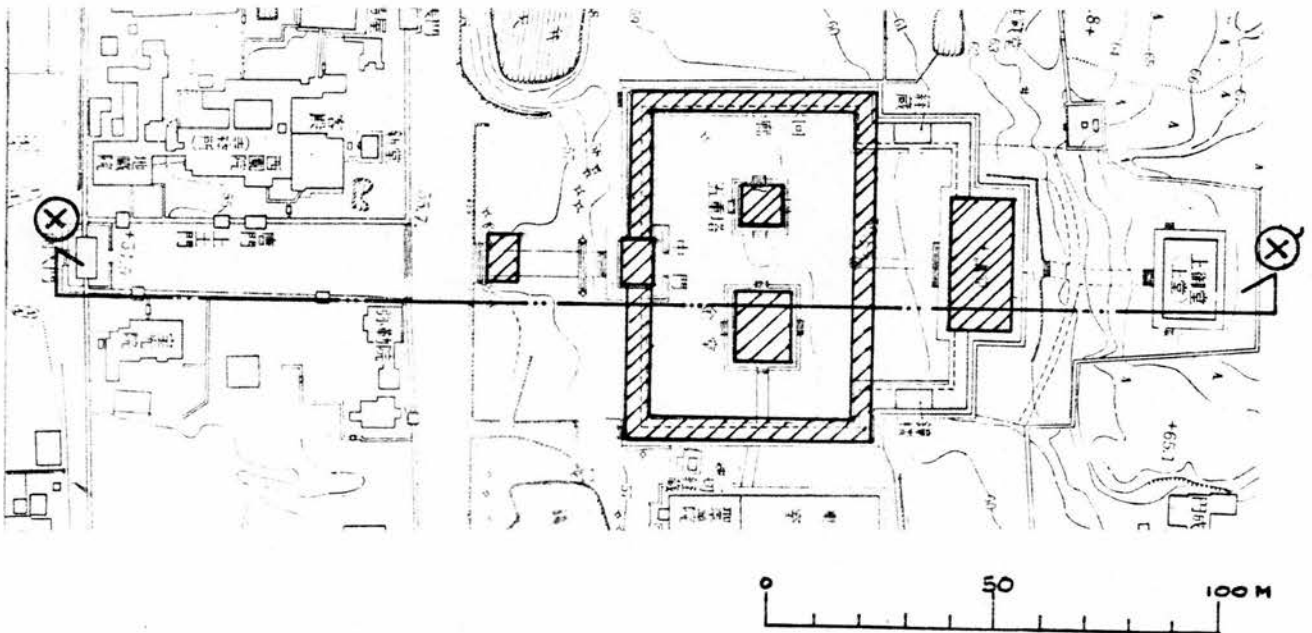
14 若草伽藍跡と音門院跡の位置関係図

(b) Site map of the First Horyu-ji
(N.R.T.K., 1970 (a), F.14)

Fig.85 Side view of the Second Horyu-ji



(a) site-view of the Second Horyu-ji



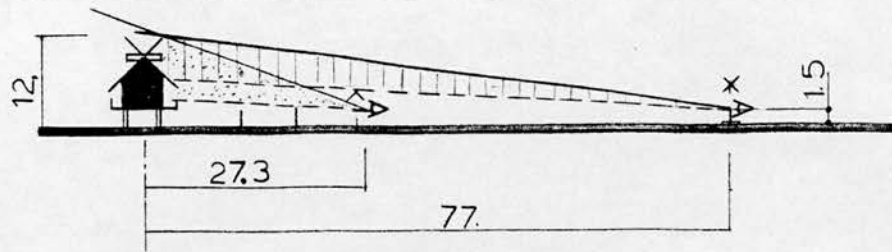
(b) site map of the Second Horyu-ji

(based on N.R.T.K., 1970 (a), p.13)

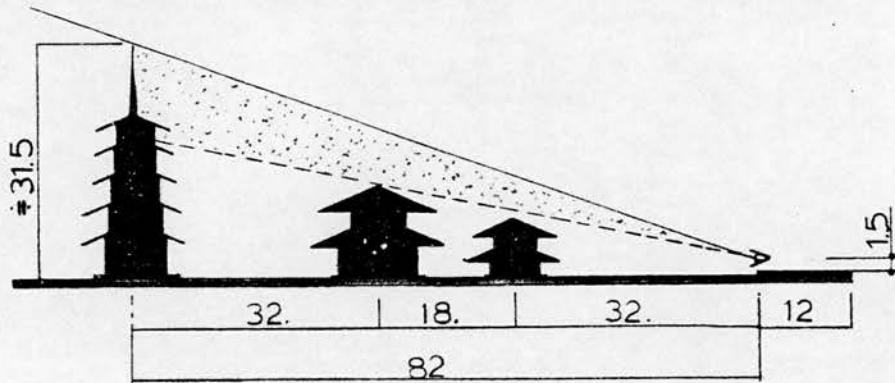
as to ensure that it could be observed as a complete entity from a distant viewpoint. As we have noted before (see 5.2) the viewpoint of the observer of the Second Horyu-ji is supposed to have been the South Gate. To a viewer lower down the slope and facing the temple, the buildings would recede into the hillside (see Fig. 85-a). The distance between the viewing point and the Middle Gate is 37m and to the Lecture Hall is 200m, so that there is a 163m deep space to be absorbed by the eye. As the Kondo and the Lecture Hall are almost of the same height, if the site had been flat the Lecture Hall would not have been visible from the viewing point. The three dimensional effect of the perspective is also assured by the relatively large space separating the Kondo and the pagoda.

In Fig. 86 we can trace the progress from the Ise Shrine, where the viewpoint of the public was the south gateway of the second fence looking towards the main sanctuary, to Asuka-dera, where the siting of the viewpoint had been removed to a greater distance to the Ishijiki hiroba, where the officials saw the emperor standing at the South Gate in line with the pagoda, then to the Second Horyu-ji, where the buildings were arranged in a more complex perspective, the gate flanked by the pagoda and Kondo. The distance between the viewing point and the principal building (the tallest building of the complex) is 77m at Ise, 82m at Asuka-dera,

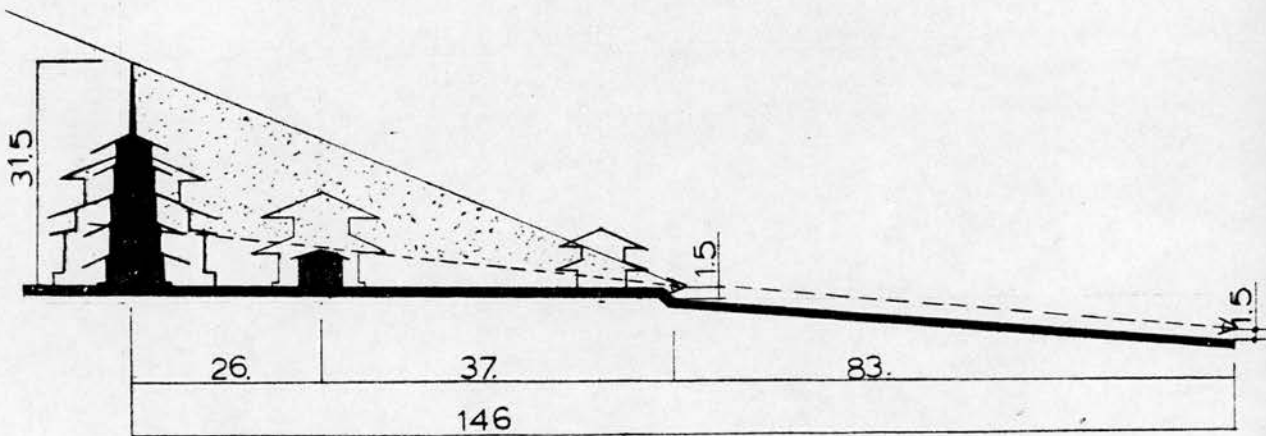
Fig.86 Relative dimensions from viewpoint to main building at the Ise Shrine, Asuka-dera and the Second Horyu-ji.



(a) Ise Shrine Naiku Sanctuary



(b) Asuka-dera



(c) The Second Horyu-ji

but at the Second Horyu-ji it becomes 146m at maximum, almost twice as long as at Ise. It is also worth noting that in both Ise and Asuka-dera the building on which the viewer's eyes are to be focussed is only one, the main sanctuary at Ise and the pagoda at Asuka-dera, while at the Second Horyu-ji the range of sight is broadened by the juxtaposition of the pagoda and Kondo. At the same time, because of the slope of the site, the visual angle is wider at the Second Horyu-ji than at Asuka-dera and Ise, both of which stand on flat ground.

5.4 Roof-lines

A further indication of the emphasis on the external effect is the arrangement of the roof lines. Normally the interior spaces of a building would be fixed according to human dimensions and the purpose for which the building is designed, starting from ground level and working upwards. Thereafter, the roof lines are automatically determined in accordance with decisions already taken, i.e. the internal dimensions determine the external ones. It is clear, however, that the Second Horyu-ji must have been built by following quite a 'reverse' procedure.

If we look at Fig. 87, we can see that the horizontal lines (a) - (e), continue through the buildings from pagoda to Middle Gate to Kondo, irrespective of the number of storeys in each building. In order to ensure

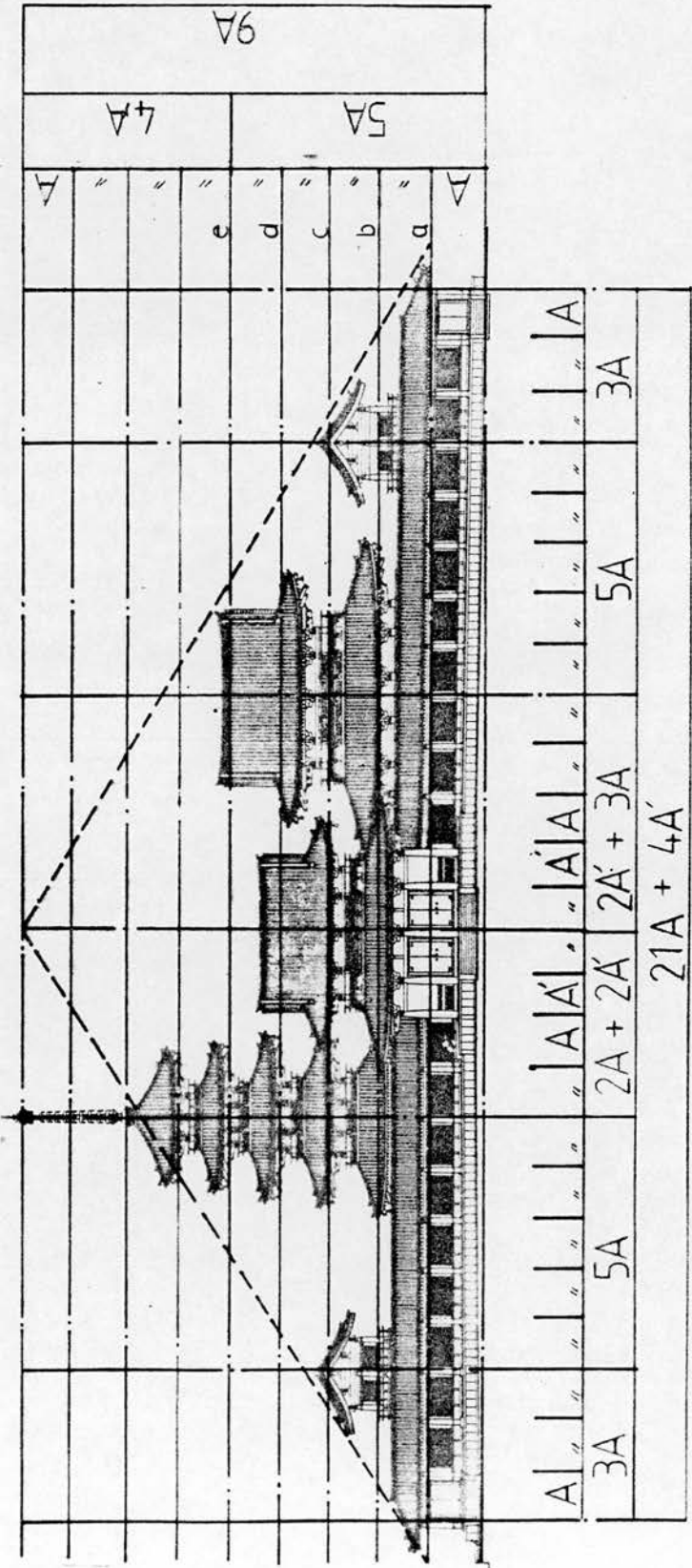


Fig.87 The facade of the Second Horyu-ji

A=one bay

(based on Bacon, 1968, p.35)

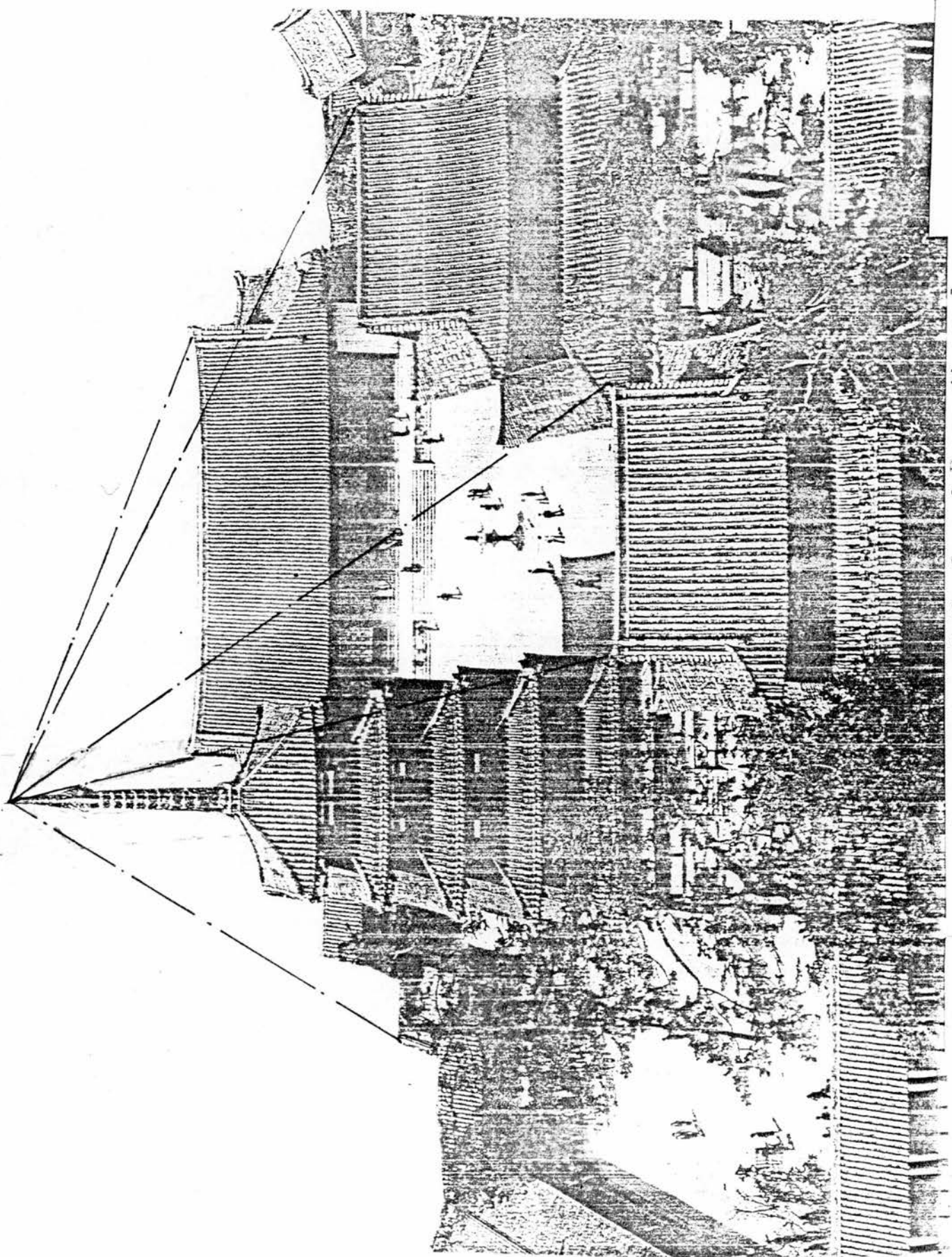
this continuity of line from one building to another a careful consideration had to be given to all the three determinants of the height of the roof apex: the pitch of the roof, the height of the eaves and the width of the building. For example, as can be seen in Figs. 76, 77, 80 and 81, the height between successive eaves in the pagoda, Kondo, middle gate, and the lecture hall is distinctly different.

From Fig. 87 we see that although the layout is not symmetrical the whole design of the Second Horyu-ji is harmonious. If the spire of the pagoda is excluded from the measurement, the buildings fall within a triangle; if the spire is included, the height of the pagoda, measured from the level of the ground floor, is twice the height of the Kondo. In order to confine the buildings to the triangle, the floor space in each building becomes smaller at the upper levels, while the ratio of the roof space to the floor space becomes greater. Although the pagoda has been made more slender than is usual, the Kondo has been given a much longer roof line than it actually needs. In fact, the cantilever at the corner of the roof line of the Kondo is five metres long, an astonishing span. As a result, the roof gives the impression of delicacy and lightness, as if it were floating.

If we look at the perspective step-effect of the roof lines, and note the spaces which are visible

between and around each of the structures, we can observe a spiral effect, from the apex of the triangle swinging round the pagoda to the Lecture Hall, the Kondo, the Middle Gate and finally to the left-hand sutra repository along the line of the cloister (see Fig. 88).

The whole complex of buildings is held in balance, not only in both horizontal directions, but also vertically. The vertical division of the grid is based on the span between the pillars of the cloister. It is evident from Fig. 87 that one of the cloister pillars forms the axis of each building. There is more to this achievement of harmony than the simple lines of the facade. Fig. 87 does not show, deliberately, that far behind the Middle Gate is a Lecture Hall, whose roof line is higher than that of the Kondo but which still conforms to the overall plan of the grid. As a result, the viewer experiences a three dimensional effect - an effect of a receding perspective (see Fig. 85-a for a side view of the Second Horyu-ji and the position of the Lecture Hall in relation to the other buildings). The weight and disposition of the Middle Gate and Lecture Hall is quite different from those of the pagoda and Kondo. Both buildings are much heavier in design, and they also create the essential effect of depth. This sense of weight and depth firmly holds the centre of the complex, while allowing the two flanking



. Fig. 88 | A bird's eye view of the Second Horyu-ji complex

(Based on Kuno, 1966, F.1)

buildings to make the most of their less earth-bound, more dynamic features.

Further elements serving to harmonise the whole are the actual building materials. The roofs have identical tiling; the pillars and the gables are of wood and are painted red. While the four walls of each building are of white plaster, the east and west sides of the cloister are of wooden lattice, as mentioned before (see 5.2).

In the second Horyu-ji, we have seen that an external grid has been imposed upon the buildings and how intimately the lines and the mass of each building are related to each other. We have already discussed before (see 2.9) that a similar employment of a grid can be seen in the design of the main sanctuary of the Ise Shrine. In order to achieve such harmony and unity, the most intricate calculations must have been made and certainly, as we suggested in Ise's case, a model must have been constructed; such refinement could not have been achieved without the most meticulous forethought.⁶

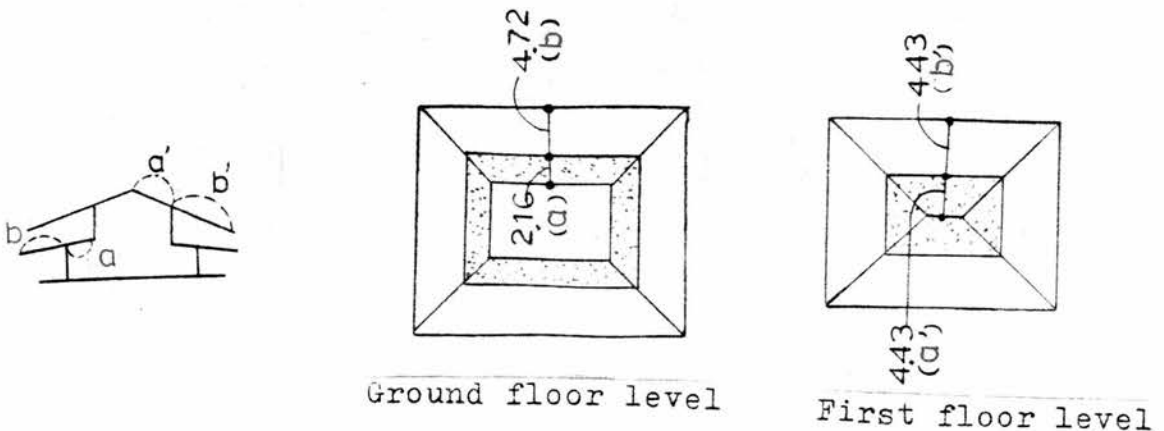
Besides the harmonious positioning of the roof lines in general, we need to look at the treatment of the roof in each individual building. Here a comparison between the roofs of the Lecture Hall and Kondo will be useful. The roof of the Lecture Hall is of hipped type,

6. In fact, in Kairyu-o-ji (completed in the mid-8th century) a model of its pagoda, which was of one-tenth of the actual size, was discovered at Kondo (Fukuyama, 1974, p.79). The production of a model must have been the usual procedure when designing temples.

indicating the obvious influence of Chinese Tang style (see Fig. 89) To use Soper's description (1955, p.184), this type of roof is a 'thin shell of sheathing, clayey earth and tiles laid directly on the rafters'. It is also frequently observed in the single shell technique that the height of the corner pillars is increased in order to produce a rise in the outer slope of the roof. The eaves of the Lecture Hall are 3.46m long and are supported by the only beam.

By contrast, the cantilever of the Kondo at the upper floor level is 4.72m long, which is an extraordinary length for wooden architecture. The ratio of the internal roof space (a) in Fig. 90 below to the space between cantilevers (b) in the same figure, is 1:2.85 at the ground floor level and 1:3.76 at the first floor level. Thus, a considerable weight has to be carried by the supporting structure underneath.

Fig. 90. THE RATIO OF THE INTERNAL ROOF SPACE TO
THE SPACE BETWEEN CANTILEVERS IN THE SECOND
HORYU-JI KONDO.



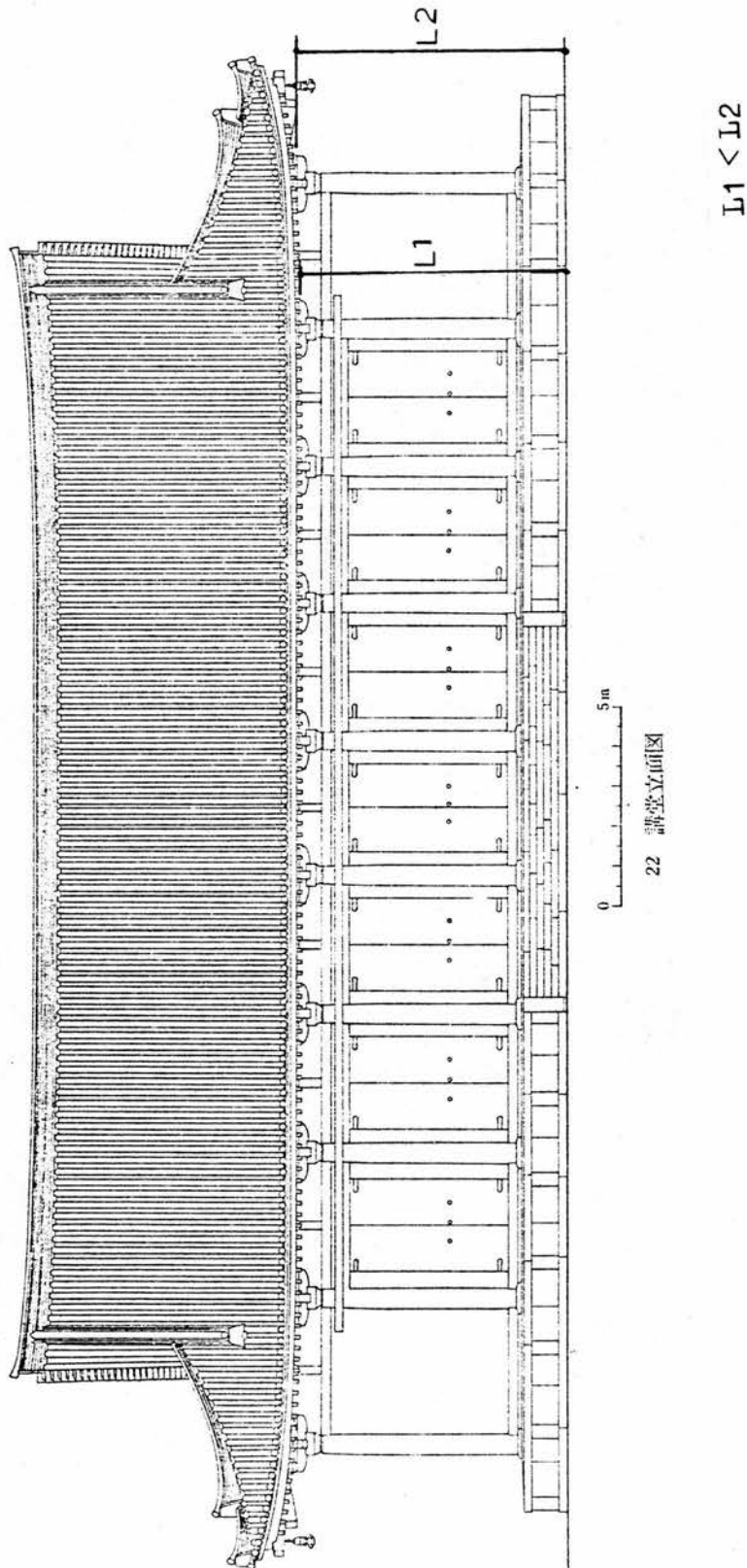


Fig.89 Elevation of the Second Horyu-ji Lecture Hall

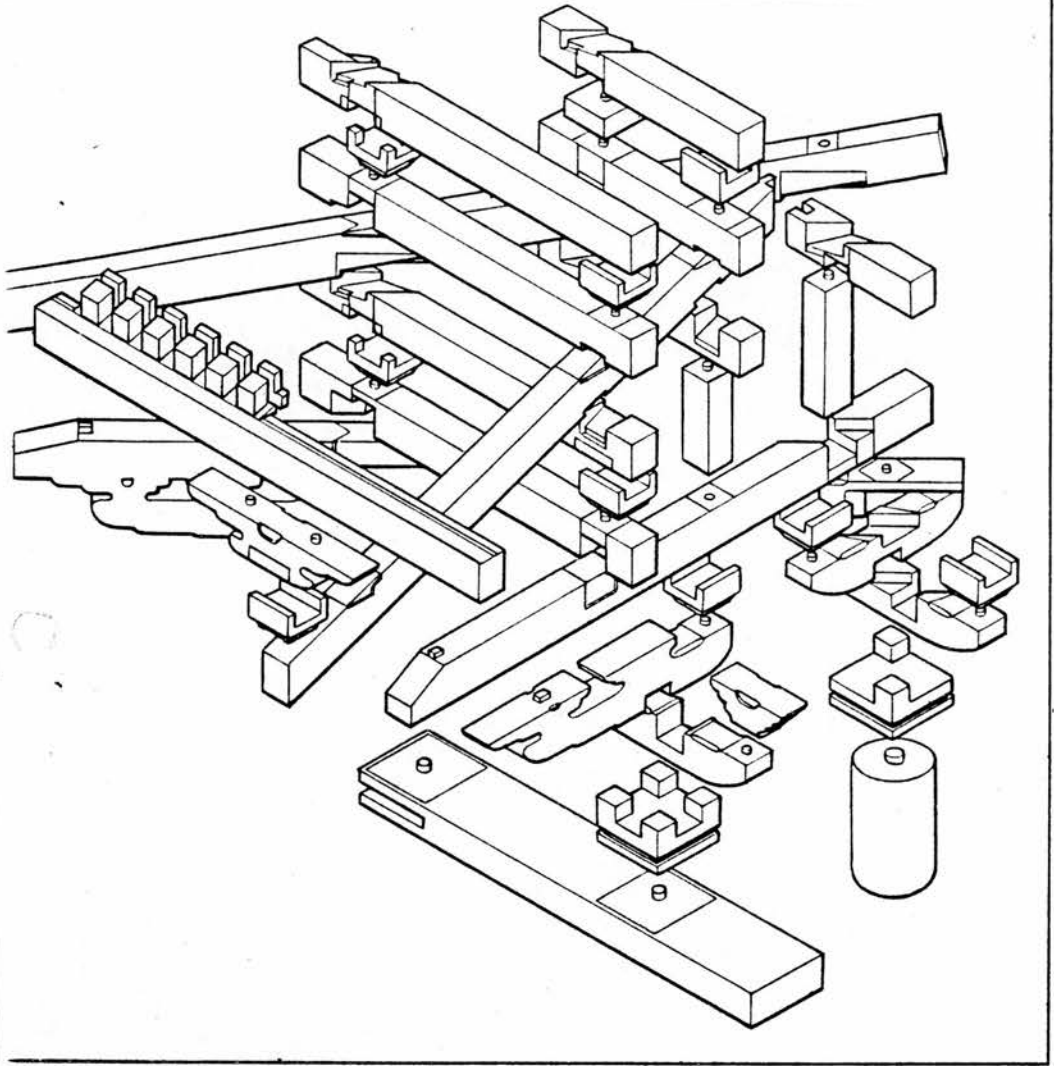
(N.R.T.K., 1970 (a), F.22)

In the Kondo not only pillars but also a great quantity of woodwork is employed to support and give greater height to the heavy tile roof (see Fig. 77). In this system, which Soper (1955, p.184) called a 'double-shell' type, rafters that rest on the complex of beams and purlins may be far removed from the outer skin of the tiles. For the elaborate overhangs of the roof a long slanting arm, parallel to the slope of the eaves, is used to act as a kind of lever.

The bracketing system of the Kondo is illustrated in Fig. 91. It begins with an arm, crowned by three bearing-blocks running on each axis through the capital at the head of the column. The lowest transverse member, which projects into the veranda as a conventional arm, is transformed externally into a 'cloud corbel'. This holds what is actually the end of a beam, and that in turn braces the slanting lever. Such systems produced regularly repeated units of space and linear surfaces. As Kidder (1972, p.83) points out, the bracketing system, while thoroughly functional, has always been regarded as of great aesthetic importance to a building; the woodwork was painted red, in striking contrast with the white of the plastered area.

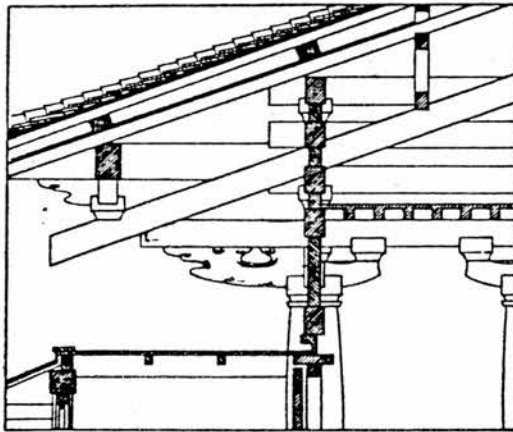
In order to create the gently sloping curve of the astonishingly long cantilevers the complex supporting structure was adopted at the expense of structural efficiency. In fact, the upper level of the

Fig.91 Eaves bracketing of the Second Hōryū-ji



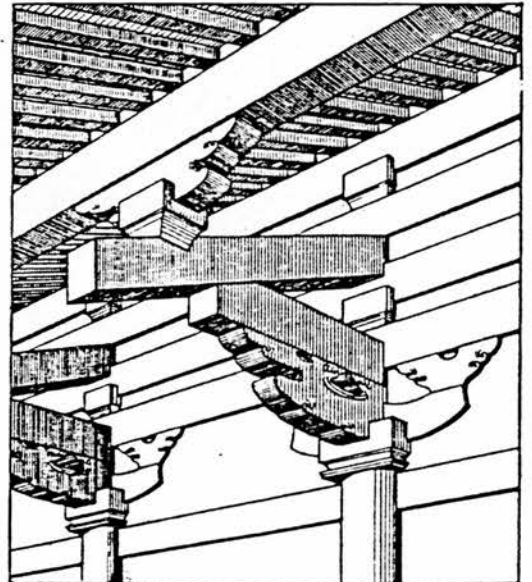
(a)

(Kuno, 1966, F. 24)



0 1 2 10 FEET
3m

Figure 9. Hōryūji Kondō: Eaves bracketing



(b)

(Soper, 1955, p. 188, F. 9)

Kondo, which is not floored for separate use, is purely monumental; it seems to exist for no other reason than to support the roof structure and to enhance the external appearance of the building. A similar structure can also be observed in the pagoda.

As the Lecture Hall had a practical function, i.e. to provide space for the monks to indulge in collective study, a simpler structural system which allows the maximum utilization of the internal space was adopted. For such symbolic buildings as the Kondo and pagoda, external considerations seem to have been the dominant factor. It should now be clear why superfluous storeys were added to the buildings of the Second Horyu-ji. The extra mass and volume enabled the designers to organise the space between the buildings and to produce the roof lines flared at a flattened angle.

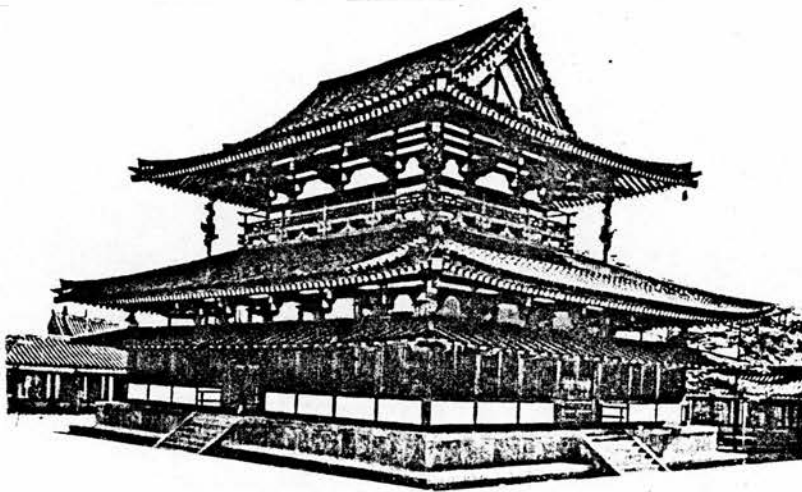
5.5 Kondo

We have already noted that one of the most remarkable features of the Second Horyu-ji is that the Kondo is given great significance, especially when compared with the earlier Buddhist temples. What gives particular prominence to the Second Horyu-ji Kondo is its highly valued wall paintings, entasis and closed veranda. In this section an attempt will be made to reveal the basic nature of the Kondo and to investigate why it acquired a new prominence.

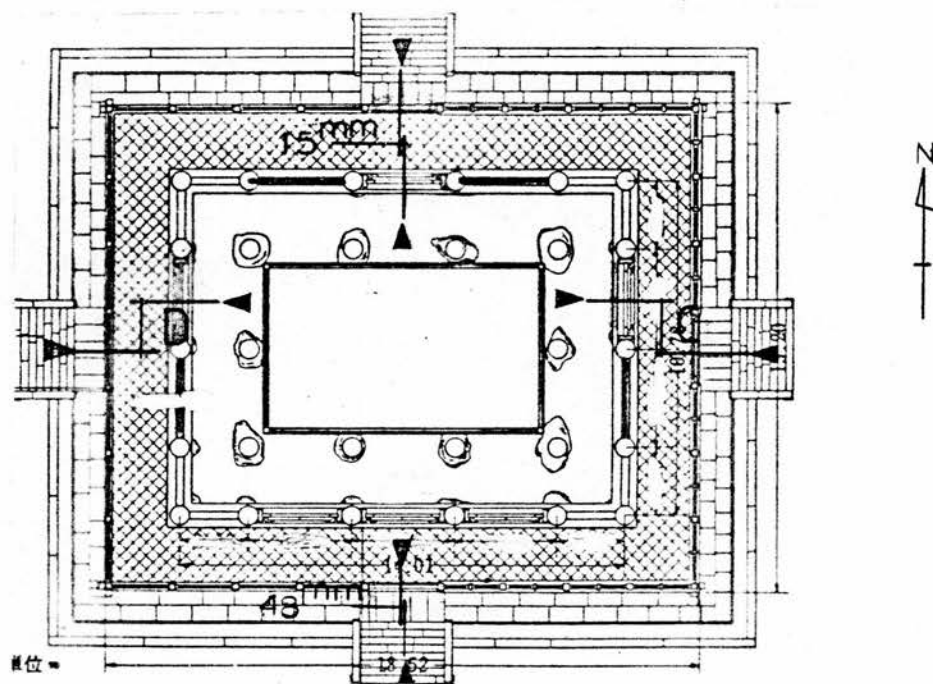
The Kondo is built on a two-fold stone platform, the upper level of which occupies a space of 353.35m^2 . The floor area is 281.50m^2 on the ground floor and 62.60m^2 at the first floor. There are four entrances at each cardinal point, stone steps leading to the double-leaf door (See Fig. 92). The interior of the Kondo is divided into three parts. Starting from the outside there is the veranda, the ambulatory and the central space for the temple's most holy images. The chief icon of the Second Horyu-ji was the bronze Yakushi until it was replaced later by the gilt bronze Shaka triad that was completed in 623 (Kidder, 1972, p.100). The Buddha was accompanied by a pair of bodhisattvas, and was protected by the Shitenno statues (see 4.3) at the four corners. The present Horyu-ji has a platform raised approximately 60cm from the ground level. It occupies the space circumscribed by the inner sides of the columns (see Fig. 92-b). It is known, however, that the Second Horyu-ji did not originally have a platform (N.R.T.K., 1970, (a), p.22); the Buddha and other statues were placed directly on the floor, and the wooden board surrounded the outer sides of the columns. This style can be observed in the present Yakushi-ji Kondo (see Fig. 93).

It is quite clear that the Second Horyu-ji Kondo was designed neither as a setting for major ceremonies nor as the public place of worship as some

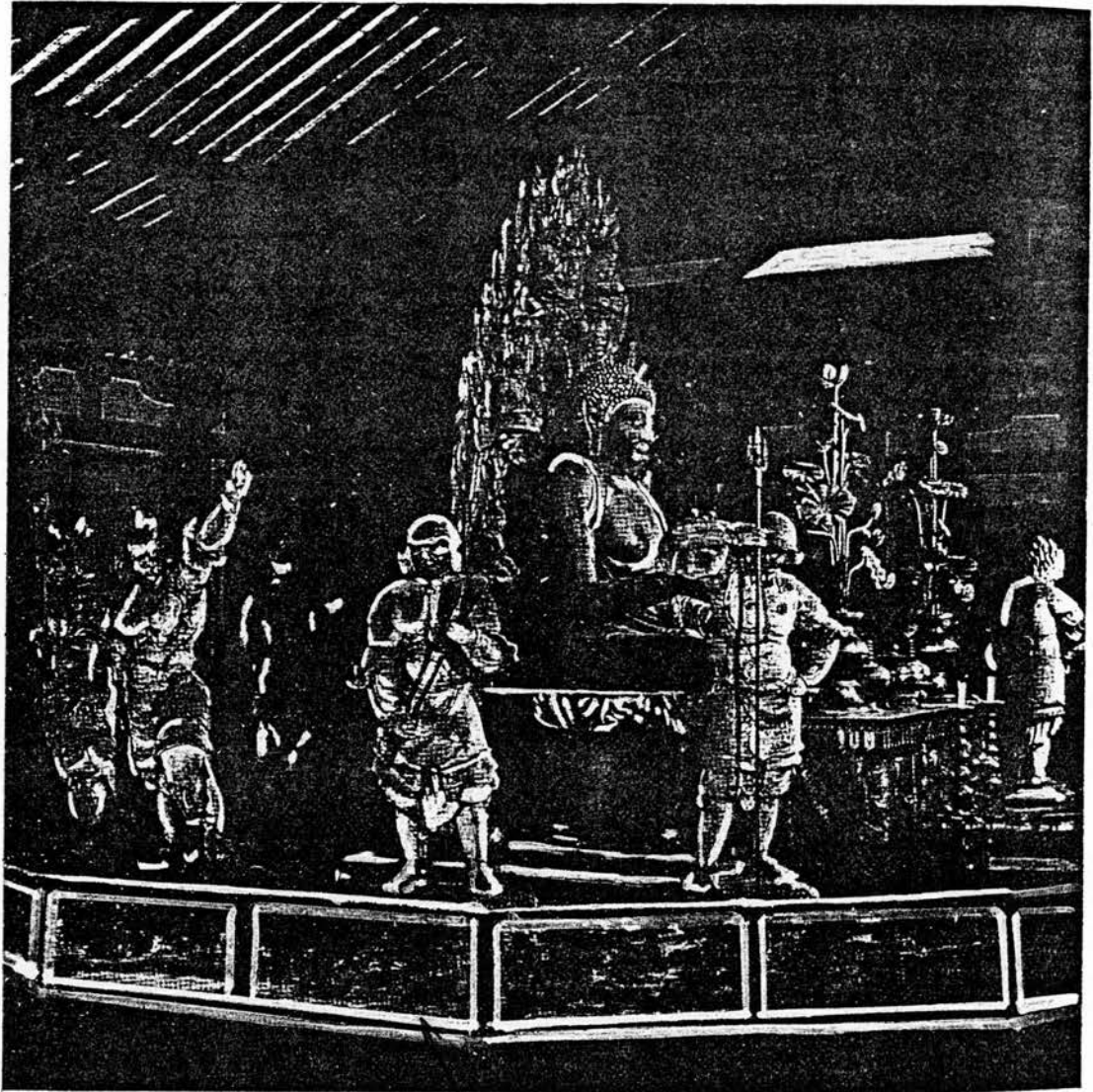
Fig.92 The Kondo of the Second Hōryū-ji



(a) (Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai, 1968, p.13)



(based on Inoue ©, 1969, p.46)



薬師十二神将像 奈良・新薬師寺 撮影・小川光三

wooden board

Fig.93 Inside view of the Yakushi-ji Kondo

(Ishida, 1976)

western observers (e.g. Soper, 1955, p.184) seem to assume. The Kondo of the early Japanese Buddhist temples was very exclusive. Inoue ⑥ (1969, pp.49-51) stresses this point by quoting two accounts drawn from historical documents, one relating to the Horyu-ji Kondo and the other to the Yakushi-ji Kondo. The former⁷ says:

"The doors of this Kondo have not been opened for several years except for inspection by the monk on night duty"

This account dates from in 1078. The way the Horyu-ji Kondo was treated must have struck a particular observer of the end of the eleventh century who was familiar with the Kondo of the temples of that period, which was spacious and used frequently to hold elaborate Buddhist ceremonies. The latter's account⁸ has a more legendary flavour:

"No one has been admitted inside the Kondo for a long time. Only three authorised laymen go inside, each taking a ten day shift. They make their ablution before entering. Apart from this, even the monks, however pure they may be, are kept out of the building. Once, a monk who was so confident in his noble mindedness tried to intrude into the Kondo, but the door suddenly closed and his attempt was unsuccessful".

There are many other legends indicating the seclusion and inviolability of the Kondo, but the architectural details can offer much more substantial evidence. Firstly, the width of the ambulatory is approximately 1m, and the space between the altar and

7. The Kondo Nikki (The Kondo diary), c.1078

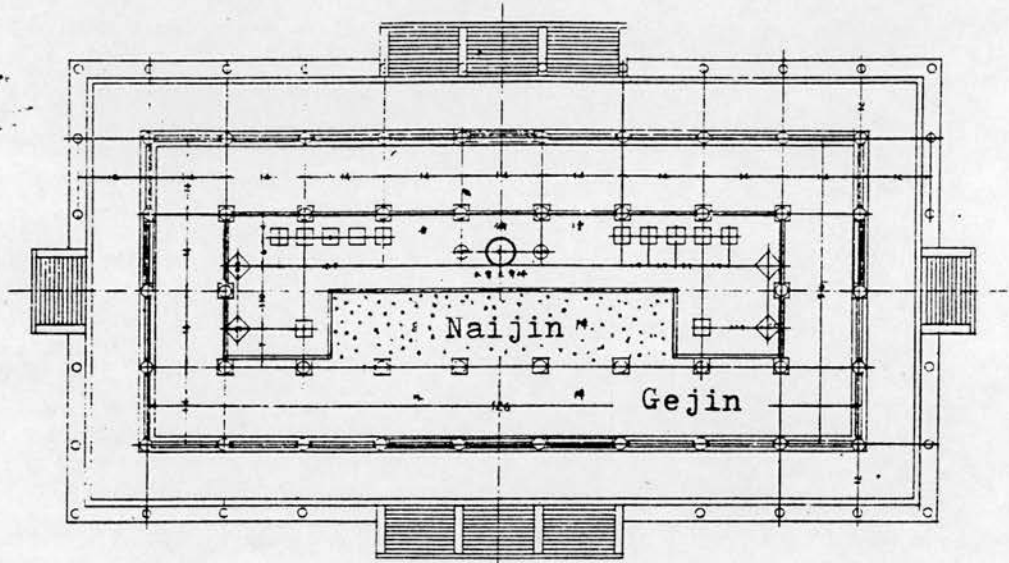
8. The Konjaku Monogatari (The once-upon-a-time Stories) vol. 12 completed mid-11th century

the front door must have been just enough to allow one person to stand there. Secondly, the floor of the ambulatory is plastered, which makes a contrast with the tiled veranda. As the plastered floor would be easily worn down under a constant tread, we can see that the ambulatory was not designed for the reception of frequent visitors. Inoue ⑤ (1969, p.53), having noted the sacrosanct nature of the Kondo, concluded that the interior of the early Kondo was a space exclusively dedicated to Buddha. In my view, however, the early Kondo, and more specifically the Second Horyu-ji Kondo was essentially a treasure-house and a museum rather than a Buddha Hall, the artistic objects being displayed only for a limited number of visitors including the emperor.

The unusual features of the Second Horyu-ji Kondo are particularly evident when we compare it with the standard Korean Kondo. Fig. 94 shows the reconstructed plan of the Kondo of Koryu-ji (皇龍寺), a Korean Shitenno-ji style temple built in 584. The Koryu-ji Kondo measures 16.8m long by 37.8m broad,⁹ and it is more than twice the size of the Second Horyu-ji Kondo.¹⁰ It should also be noted that the front of the Korean Kondo is roughly twice as long as its Japanese counterpart. The interior is divided into three parts, Starting from the outside there is the

9. As the veranda of Koryu-ji was open, we do not include it in the inner space of the building.

10. Including the veranda, the ground floor space measured 15.2m long by 18.52m broad.



第19圖 皇龍寺金堂復原圖(寸尺は東魏尺、其の一尺を曲一尺とせるもの)
(1929. 12. 27—1930. 1. 11 藤島亥治郎製圖)

Fig.94 Reconstructed plan of Koryu-ji, Korean Shitenno-ji style temple.

(Fujishima, 1969, p.35)

Ge-jin (ambulatory), the Nai-jin (inner chapel) and the Buddha's platform. People worshipped Buddha in the Naijin, which, together with the Buddha's platform, occupies the central part of the Kondo. It can easily be deduced that the Koryu-ji Kondo was designed to serve the original function of a Kondo, i.e. to offer a space for worshippers to view the chief icon of the temple.

On the other hand, as we have already noted, there was no platform in the Second Horyu-ji Kondo. This seems to emphasise the relative importance of the wall paintings. When the Buddha statues were placed on the floor the eye level of the chief icon was 1.55m high (see Fig. 95), while in the wall paintings the eye level of Buddhas and bodhisattvas was 2.7m high on average. Thus, the visitor to the Kondo was able to enjoy the panorama of frescoes without having his view seriously interrupted by the statues. The visitor could walk around the ambulatory to look closely at each wall painting, but there was only a small narrow space where he could look at the Buddha from the front (see Fig. 92-b), because there was no space equivalent to the Naijin of Korean temples in the Horyu-ji Kondo. Furthermore, if we select a viewpoint in front of the principal Buddha image, we can notice that a careful consideration has been given to the arrangement of the paintings so that the viewer can have all of the four major paintings¹¹ on the bigger panels within his gaze;

11. The paintings of the lesser Buddhas and bodhisattvas are sited at the corner on the smaller panels.



Shaka Triad, bronze, by Tori. Asuka period, 623. Hōryūji

Fig.95 Shaka Triad, bronze
Chief icon of the Second Horyu-ji
(Soper, 1955)

he did not have to turn around.

Another factor emphasising the importance of the wall paintings is the variation in the distance between the pillars. As we can see from Fig. 96, the inter-columniation of the Second Horyu-ji Kondo exhibits a slight irregularity, while in other temples the distances between columns balance exactly. As there is a high precision in all the external measurements of the Second Horyu-ji, it would be unrealistic to regard the discrepancy in the interior measurements simply as a technical mistake.

The frescoes of the Second Horyu-ji are line drawings, the art and techniques of which show a Tibetan influence (see Fig. 97). In this type of drawing a clear and precise presentation of minute details is required, and it is very difficult to adjust the design in order to manoeuvre the details into some objectively and externally balanced framework. Therefore, even if some priority were given, say in the question of panel size, to the overall design of the painting as against the precision of the measurements, it would still have been necessary to make minor adjustments by shaving the pillars after the drawing had been completed. This would explain why there is a slight difference in the entasis of each pillar.

It seems to have been especially difficult in the corner panels to reduce the scale and yet maintain

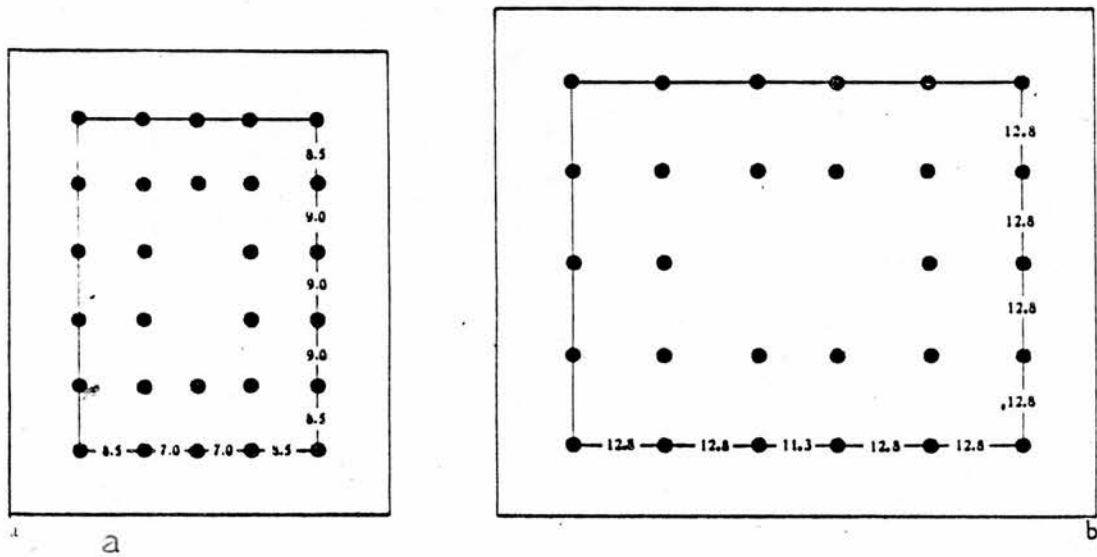


Fig. 32 Plans of Asuka and Hakuhō period buildings showing intercolumniation: (a) East Main Hall, Asuka-dera; 588; (b) Main Hall, Shitennō-ji; 593; (c) Middle Main Hall, Kawahara-dera; after 660; (d) Main Hall, Hōryū-ji; after 670

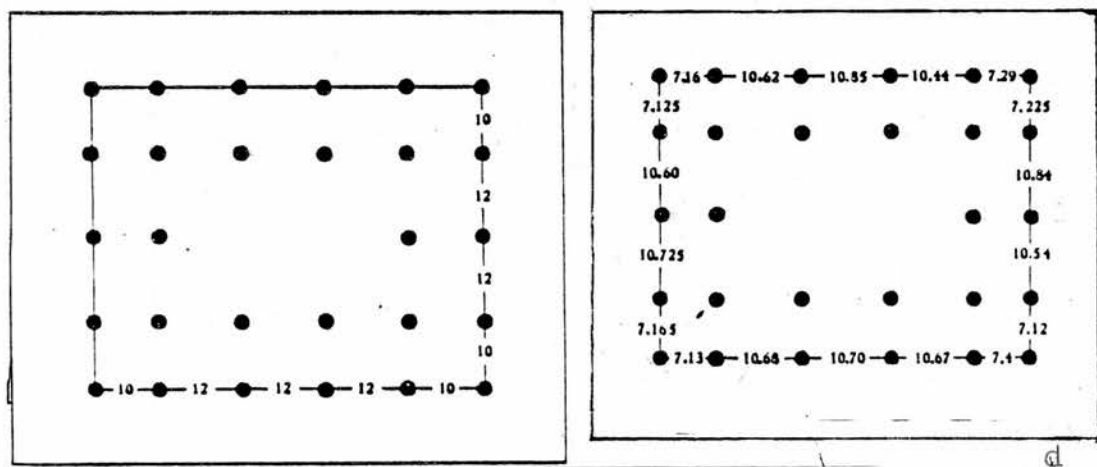


Fig.96 The unique panel measurements of the Second Horyu-ji Kondo compared with the regular measurements at the Kondo of the other temples

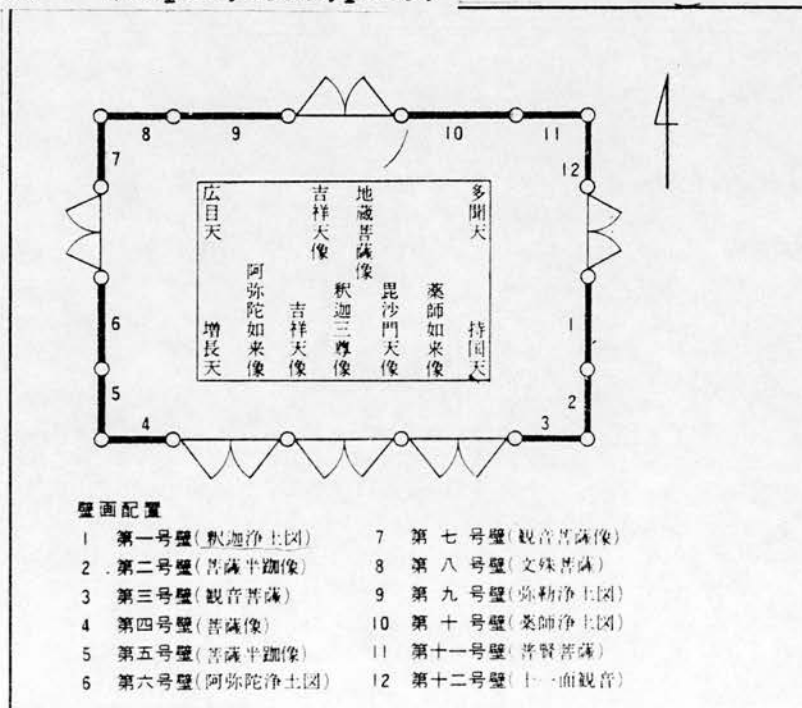
(Kidder, 1972, p.92)

Fig.97 Fresco of Amida Paradise in Panel 9 in the Second Horyu-ji Kondo.



(A) Amida Paradise, fresco. Late Asuka period.
Hōryūji

(a) (Soper, 1955, p.13)



71 金堂の仏像と壁面配置図

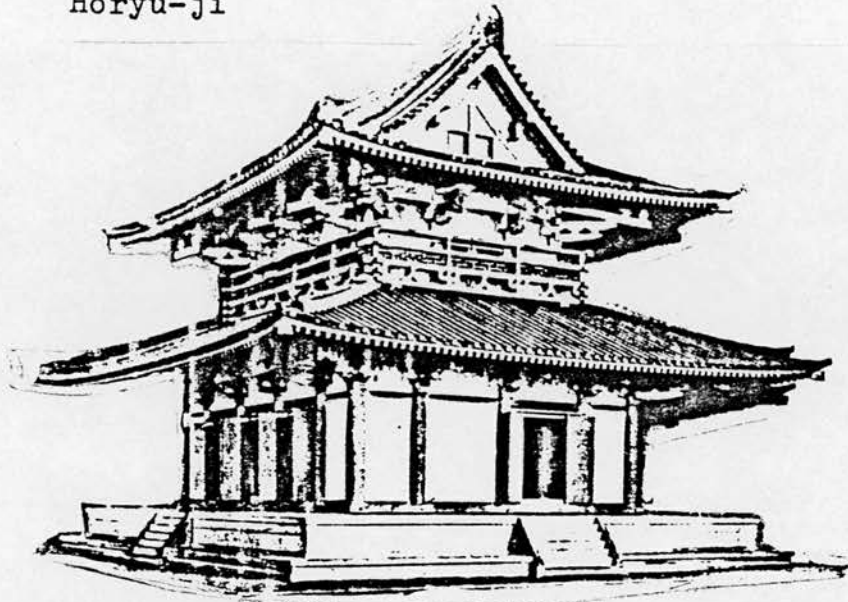
(b) (N.R.T.K., 1970, (a), F.71)

corresponding proportions as represented in the designs used in the bigger panels. At the corners the width of each panel was restricted almost to half the length. Thus, for example, the difference of width between the two corner panels on the south side is 10.3cm, which is bigger than the difference observed between the bigger panels. Because of the earlier pre-eminence given to wall paintings, the six inner doors differ slightly in width from each other, and precise symmetry is not maintained in the positioning of the two pairs of doors which face each other (see Fig. 92-b).

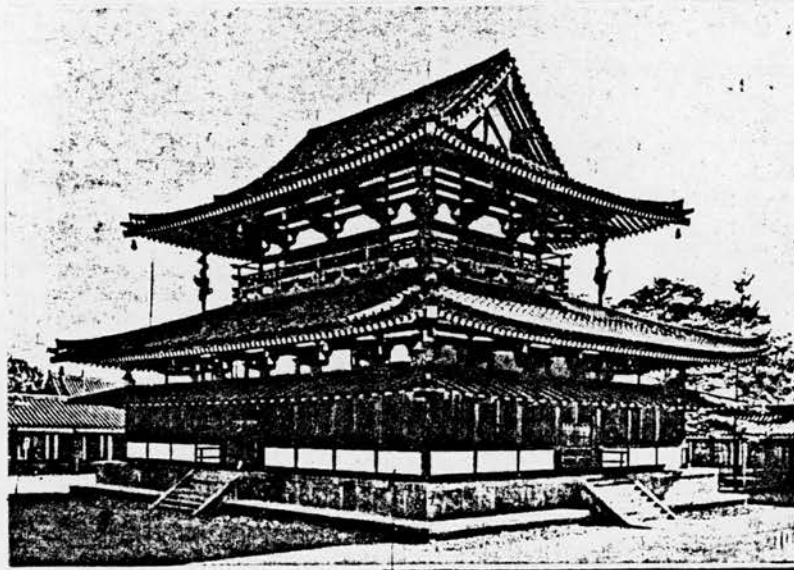
The third piece of evidence emphasising the importance attached to the frescoes is associated with the enclosed veranda unique to the Second Horyu-ji. While the First Horyu-ji Kondo, and also the Kondo of such later temples as Kawahara-dera and Yakushi-ji had an open veranda,¹² the veranda of the Second Horyu-ji Kondo is enclosed with plaster and lattice work (see Fig. 98). This partially opaque outer wall of the veranda is the only example of its kind in Japanese temple architecture, and it relates the inner and outer spaces of the Kondo. One of the major functions of this veranda would have been to protect the invaluable wall paintings against the weather. It is, however,

12. These Kondos had a semi-enclosed veranda with a balustrade on the first floor level, the function of which was essentially ornamental.

Fig.98 The Kondos of the First Horyu-ji and the Second Horyu-ji



(a) First Horyu-ji (reconstructed model)
(Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai, 1968, p.13)



(b) Second Horyu-ji
(Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai, 1968, p.13)

worth discussing here the other important functions that the veranda of Horyu-ji Kondo seems to have fulfilled.

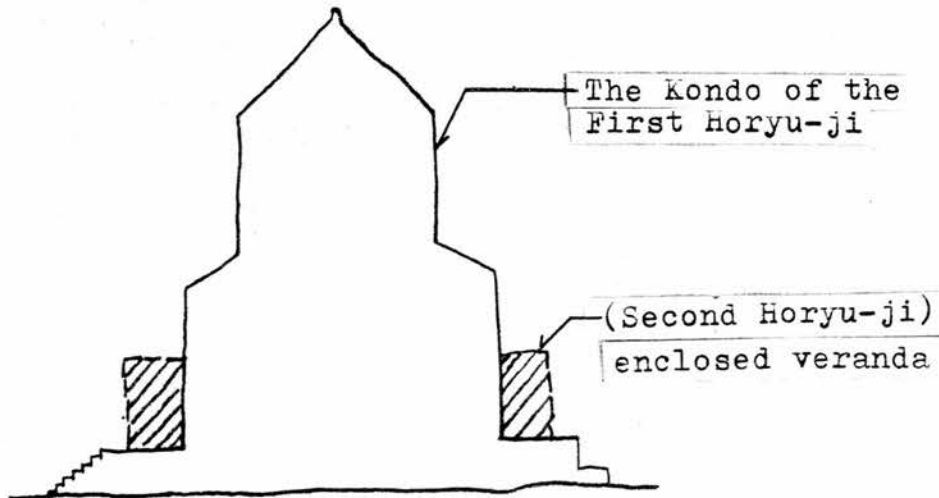
We have noted earlier that while the ambulatory within the Kondo is floored with fragile plaster that would not have supported much wear, the veranda is approximately 1.9m broad and is tiled. We might suppose that the veranda was used as an anteroom for the emperor's attendants during the emperor's visit to the Kondo. We may recall that in the Daijo ceremony building, the emperor's entourage occupied the space closest to him but marked off by partitions (see 2.8). In Chapter 3 we noted from the account of the Nihon Shoki that only the emperor entered the Kondo of Asuka-dera. The Nihon Shoki's record of the emperor's visit to the Asuka-dera Kondo was dated 685. Therefore, the Kondo must have been used in the same way in the Second Horyu-ji, the construction of which is believed to have been started during the period 680-690. In fact, it was not until the middle of the eleventh century that the Kondo of Japanese Buddhist temples came to be designed for the reception of a number of worshippers (see also 7.6).

Thus far we have considered the practical functions of the veranda, but there is an additional function which should not be ignored - its aesthetic effect. If we compare the external appearance of the

Kondo of the First and Second Horyu-ji (see Fig. 98), we shall notice that the Second Horyu-ji Kondo looks more stable and symmetrically balanced. This difference in the external effect is due to the different types of veranda attached to the Kondo of these two temples.

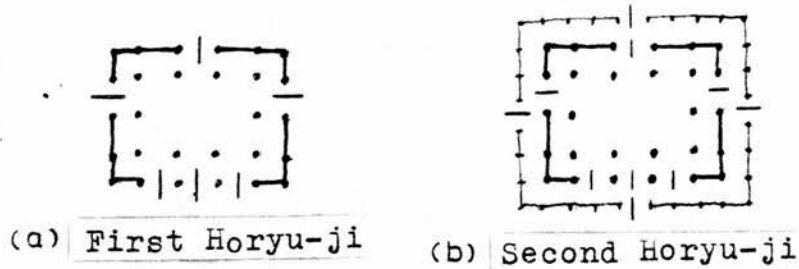
As the Second Horyu-ji Kondo had an enclosed veranda, the shape of the building above the stone platform became more pyramidal and there was thus more stability (see Fig. 99 below). In the First Horyu-ji Kondo, although the positioning of the east and west

Fig. 99 SECTION OF THE FIRST HORYU-JI KONDO AND THE SECOND HORYU-JI KONDO.



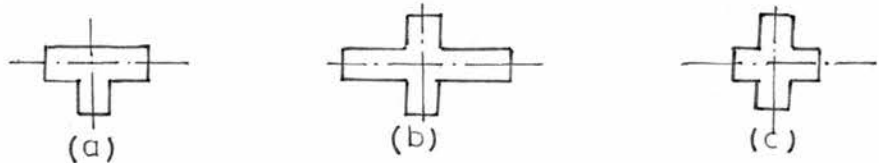
doors shows a left-and-right symmetry,¹³ the doors at the four sides exhibit no symmetry (see Fig. 100 below).

Fig. 100 THE POSITIONING OF THE DOORS IN THE FIRST HORYU-JI KONDO (a) AND THE SECOND HORYU-JI KONDO (b).



While there are three double leaf front doors at the south side, each of the other sides has only one door, also double-leaf. Furthermore, at the east and west

13. Following Inoue (b)(1969, p.39) distinction will be made of the three types of symmetry as indicated below.



- (a) left and right symmetry: symmetrical about the vertical axis.
- (b) left and right/front and rear symmetry: symmetrical about the horizontal and vertical axes
- (c) complete symmetry: symmetrical about the horizontal/vertical/diagonal axes.

The degree of symmetry or 'symmetricity' is highest in (c) and lowest in (a).

sides, as there are four spaces between the pillars, the positioning of the door is off-centre. On the other hand, in the Second Horyu-ji Kondo, while the same arrangement of doors is preserved in the inner wall between the veranda and ambulatory, the positioning of the four doors at each cardinal point achieves left-and-right/front-and-rear symmetry.

In the Shitenno-ji style temple, while the pagoda occupied the front part of the cloister, the Kondo stood at the back of the pagoda on the same longitudinal axis. Therefore, although the pagoda was square and the positioning of its four doors showed complete symmetry, the external design of the Kondo was not given a similar treatment. In the Second Horyu-ji, however, the Kondo was pushed forward to the front alongside the pagoda. This would be the reason why the external symmetrical balance of the Kondo needed to be enhanced by means of the four-door enclosed veranda.

There are at least two indications that the positioning of the four doors of the veranda was determined purely in terms of the external balance, and with little regard for practicality. In all comparable structures the doors onto the veranda precisely faced the doors of the inner room (see, for example, the plan of the Korean Koryu-ji Kondo in Fig 94), whereas here the doors onto the veranda, which are centrally placed

and symmetrically related to each other, are staggered in relation to the doors into the inner room (see Fig. 92-b). The 'stagger' effect is most noticeable on the side walls, but it is also present in the juxtapositioning of the front and rear walls; here the slight correction is perhaps even more indicative of the minute adjustments which architects were prepared to make to achieve precisely the required external and internal dimensions. The other indication is that at the south side, while the veranda has a single front door, there are three doors into the inner room. This runs counter to the normal planning of circulation because the admission was more restricted to the inner room than to the veranda.

We have repeatedly pointed out that in the Second Horyu-ji, much greater importance was attached to the Kondo than had been the case with the earlier temples. Shitenno-ji style temples were essentially symbolic monuments. Likewise, the Second Horyu-ji was primarily a temple to be looked at, but the prominence of the Kondo seems to indicate a new trend in Japanese Buddhist temples, namely the emphasis put on Buddhist statues and paintings as artistic as well as religious objects.

It is natural that with the increase in the number of Buddhist temples, the production of Buddhist statues and paintings flourished. However, it was not

until 701 that a governmental organisation was set up to gather a team of Buddhist artists. It is known that at least four designers and sixty painters belonged to the organisation which came under the Home Office, each given a proper rank of civil servant. (Kodama et al., 1962, p.27). As the frescoes of the Second Horyu-ji are believed to have been completed around 710, it would be reasonable to assume that the production of the Kondo paintings and statues were a well-organised governmental undertaking. It is important to note that meticulous consideration was given to some part of the inner space (i.e. to the ground floor level) almost equally to the external appearance of the building.

5.6 Pagoda

The pagoda of the Second Horyu-ji is five-storied and 34.1m high. It is believed to have been completed by 711 (N.R.T.K., 1970, (a), p.31), and apart from the repair work done on the top roof during the period between 1596 and 1614,¹⁴ no significant alterations have been made up to the present time. It is generally assumed that the pagodas of the Asuka-dera and the Shitenno-ji style temples had a style and structure similar to the Second Horyu-ji pagoda (Kuno, 1966, p.164).

In the Second Horyu-ji, the inner structure of the pagoda is not very different from that of the Kondo.

14. The slant of the top roof was made steeper.
(N.R.T.K., 1970, (a), p.31).

Inside, a Satchu (centre pole) and four main columns on the axes run from storey to storey. The Satchu has its own foundation stone, hollowed a step below the socket to receive Buddhist relics. At the top it supports a metal spire. The roof-supporting system and the inner bracketing of the pagoda are similar to that of the Kondo (see Fig. 76), and the first to the fourth floor levels, which are not actually floored, are purely monumental. The Buddhist pagoda is said to derive its origin from the Indian stupa,¹⁵ but as we have already mentioned before (see 4.5) one can find a surviving example of the traditional Indian symbolism only in the small hemisphere, called the Fukubachi, which is located below the nine parasol disks of the pagoda's spire (see Fig. 76).

The same division of the inner space is made in the pagoda as in the Kondo (see Fig. 101). The significance of this division with reference to the design of a Buddhist mandala has been discussed in the previous chapter (see 4.5). As no excavation report of Asuka-dera and Shitenno-ji style temples ever mentioned the pagoda having a veranda, the enclosed veranda must have been unique to the pagoda of the Second Horyu-ji.

The veranda attached to the pagoda is tiled and enclosed with a plaster wall. In Chapter 3 we discussed a possible relationship between the Asuka-dera

15. The Japanese for pagoda, 'to' (塔), is an abbreviation for 'sotoba', a corruption of stupa.

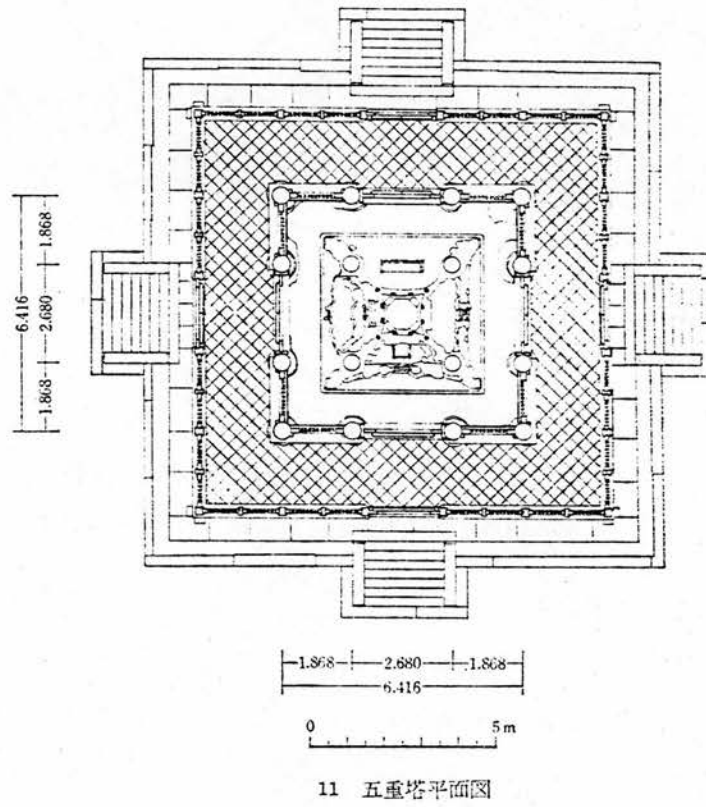


Fig.101 Plan of the Second Hōryū-ji pagoda
(N.R.T.K., 1970 (a), F.11)

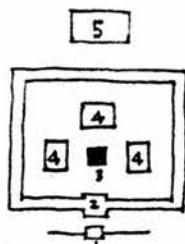
pagoda and the Imperial mound, and we argued that both must have been treated in a similar manner; it is highly likely that no one had access to the pagoda except for maintenance purposes. The pagoda must have been an absolutely inaccessible sanctuary not only in the Asuka-dera but also in the Shitenno-ji style temples.

In the Second Horyu-ji, however, the pagoda appears to have been designed to receive the visit of a limited number of people as in the case of the Kondo. Judging from the fact that a fresco of the same design as one of the corner panel paintings of the Kondo, was discovered in the wall between the ambulatory and the veranda of the pagoda (N.R.T.K., 1970, (a), p.106), the inner wall of the pagoda is likely to have had equally sophisticated paintings as the Kondo frescoes. The ground floor of the pagoda also contained four sculptural groups on the Shumisen, a huge clay mass (see 4.5), in niches between its four interior columns. The ambulatory was plastered as in the Kondo, and the veranda is supposed to have served the same practical functions as the Kondo veranda.

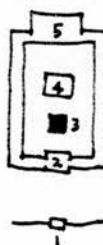
In the Second Horyu-ji, where the Kondo came to stand on the same horizontal axis as the pagoda, the pagoda lost its predominant position over the Kondo. In fact, the status of the pagoda in temple buildings seems to show a gradual decline during the seventh and eighth centuries (see Fig. 102 below). The pagoda had

Fig. 102. PLANS OF THE MAJOR TEMPLES OF THE SIXTH TO THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

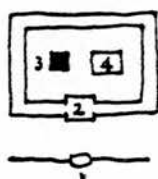
(a) Asuka-dera (588)



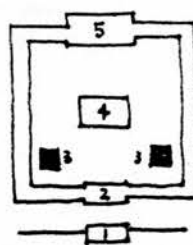
(b) Shitenno-ji (593)



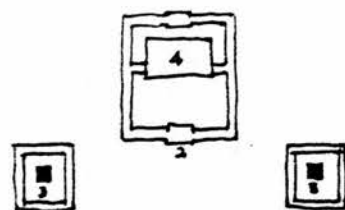
(c) Second Horyu-ji (after 670)



(d) Yakushi-ji (late 7th century)



(e) Todai-ji (752)



- 1: south gate
- 2: Middle Gate
- 3: pagoda
- 4: Kondo
- 5: Lecture Hall

its original significance as a repository of Busshari (see 3.4), and it was a symbol of the temple itself in the early period. In Asuka-dera the pagoda was located at the centre of the cloister, but then the central position of the temple was gradually taken over by the Kondo. In Yakushi-ji a pair of pagodas stood

symmetrically within the cloister, which obviously degraded the status of the pagoda to be secondary to the Kondo. In Todai-ji, a pair of pagodas were finally placed outside the cloister.

In the Second Horyu-ji, although the pagoda seems to have lost its sacrosanct nature to a certain extent and no longer dominates the forecourt of the temple, it still seems to preserve the nature of the symbolic monument possessed by the earlier temples. In Yakushi-ji and Todai-ji, the pagodas appear to have served merely as accessories to the temple. In the following pages a comparison will be made of the Second Horyu-ji pagoda and the Yakushi-ji east pagoda¹⁶ to see how they differ in their architectural styles.

First of all, it can be seen that the Horyu-ji pagoda (hereafter in this section the Second Horyu-ji will be referred to simply as Horyu-ji) is positioned much nearer to the centre of the cloister than the Yakushi-ji pagoda. The Horyu-ji pagoda stands apart from the Kondo and the cloister, at a distance greater than its width. This would create the impression of the pagoda's independence from the other buildings. On the other hand, the Yakushi-ji pagodas were removed to the corners of the cloister, affording a roomy forecourt and giving supreme prominence to the Kondo, which was precisely in the centre. As we

16. The west pagoda burnt down in 1528 and was evidently rebuilt, but burned down again in 1597, never to be replaced. (Kidder, 1972, p.109).

discussed in 5.3, the Horyu-ji pagoda played an important role in producing a panoramic external effect on the whole appearance of the temple, but with Yakushi-ji, the existence of the pagodas seems to have been almost ignored in the consideration of the total visual effect of the temple. As Kidder (1972, p.109) points out, there was really no satisfactory single place inside the cloister from which both pagodas could be adequately seen, while from the outside, the cloister hid at least their lower-third from view.

The independence of the Horyu-ji pagoda can also be observed in its self-contained external design. It is completely symmetrical as it has four entrances precisely at the centre of each side. Each Yakushi-ji pagoda has only one entrance; the east pagoda on the west side and the west pagoda on the east side, balancing each other.

As far as the external appearance is concerned, the Horyu-ji pagoda gives a stable and profound impression in contrast with the vivid lightness of the Yakushi-ji pagoda. Compare Figs. 103 and 104. At the Horyu-ji pagoda, the floor space is reduced proportionally on the upper levels so that the floor space of the top storey becomes exactly half the size of the corresponding space of the ground floor which excludes the veranda. Thus, the Horyu-ji pagoda has a pyramidal pillar shape (see Fig. 105 below). In



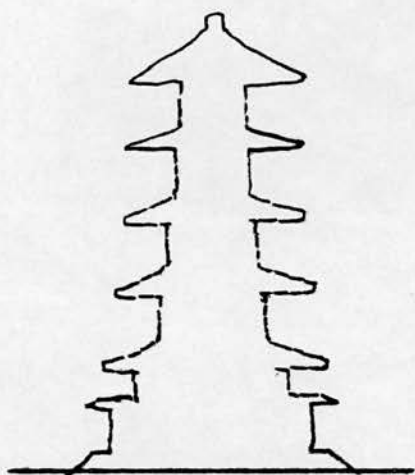
Fig.103 External view of the Second Horyu-ji pagoda

(Kidder,1972, Fig.31)

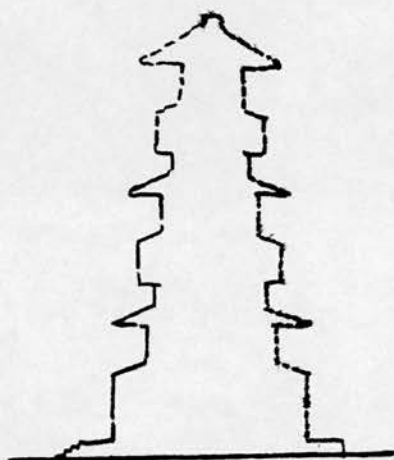
Fig.104 External view of the Yakushi-ji pagoda

(Kidder,1972, Fig.36)

Fig. 105. SECTION OF THE SECOND HORYU-JI PAGODA (a)
AND THE YAKUSHI-JI PAGODA (b).



(a)



(b)

Yakushi-ji, the pagoda has the height of a five-storied structure, but in fact, it has only three storeys. Each floor has a primary roof widely separated from each other and a narrow veranda with its own shallower penthouse. As the veranda is attached to the higher level at each storey, the external view of the pagoda becomes more complex, and the wavy line created by the repeated pattern of the expansion and reduction of the 'floor' space of each level adds rhythmical vivacity to the building.

We have already noted that the upper storeys of the Horyu-ji pagoda existed only to enhance its external

appearance, but the ornamental effect is more powerful with the Yakushi-ji pagoda. In the first place, the Horyu-ji pagoda had a veranda at each level, which had no structural value as in the case of the Yakushi-ji pagoda. However, while the veranda was attached as an extension to the 'floor' space in Horyu-ji, in Yakushi-ji it was attached higher than the 'floor' level, thus given more prominence.

Secondly, while the Horyu-ji veranda had a penthouse only at the ground floor, each Yakushi-ji veranda had its own. In contrast to the Horyu-ji pent-roof which protruded to the same degree as the primary roof thus serving the practical function of protecting the veranda wall from rain, the Yakushi-ji pentroof is shallower than the primary roof and is purely decorative.

Thirdly, with Horyu-ji the roof pitch¹⁷ averages 19 degrees which means a more steeply slanted roof than that of Yakushi-ji, whose roof pitch averages 14 degrees. Thus the Horyu-ji roof shows more of the black tiles than Yakushi-ji roof, creating a weightier impression. Similarly, in the Yakushi-ji pagoda the duplication of bracketing members allows each to be proportionally smaller, and as a result, the white plaster wall is more emphasised, adding a degree of elegance over the heaviness of the Horyu-ji style, in which the dark

17. With both pagodas the pitch of the top roof is excluded from the calculation of the average pitch, as an alteration was made to the top roof of the Horyu-ji in the repair work of 1614.

monochrome of the wooden brackets occupies a greater part of the external appearance.

The Horyu-ji pagoda is the oldest existing pagoda which preserves several features of the pagodas of the early Japanese Buddhist temples. It was, after all, the central symbolic monument of the temple, and the architectural details we have looked at in this section seem to have been held common with most of the major temples built until that period.

5.7 Conclusions.

By the time the capital was moved to Heijo-kyo (Nara) in 710, the new Chinese inspired systems introduced by the Taika edicts (645) and further improved in the Taiho Civil and Penal Codes (701), were working well enough for the emperor to exercise full authority on a national scale. As a consequence of the strengthened Imperial position, Japan reached a cultural plateau in the eighth century, which was perhaps never again to be eclipsed in her history. The Second Horyu-ji was one of the most important architectural works of this period.

At the time when the Second Horyu-ji was built, it appears that Japanese temples began to fulfil the original function of the temple, i.e. to accommodate celebrants. With the spread of Buddhism the sacrosanct nature of the cloister diminished accordingly. It is obvious, however, that the Second Horyu ji was not designed

to meet the new requirement of that period. As was the case of Asuka-dera and Shitenno-ji style temples, it seems to have been a purely symbolic monument. While such contemporary temples as Kawahara-dera and Yakushi-ji were constructed in the Fujiwara-kyo in the Asuka region to provide a location for national ceremonies, the Second Horyu-ji was at Ikaruga, 15km from the capital, standing as a symbol of Imperial power.

In many ways the Second Horyu-ji seems to have been akin to the Shitenno-ji style temple. As mentioned in the previous chapter (see 4.1), the design of each constituent building of the Second Horyu-ji is supposed to represent the design of the equivalent building of the Shitenno-ji style temple; therefore, one can trace the architectural details of the Shitenno-ji style temple building in the Second Horyu-ji. We have seen, for example, how the pagoda of the Second Horyu-ji maintained the substantial nature of the pagoda of the earlier temples, in comparison with the Yakushi-ji pagoda, which was ornamental and had a subordinate position in the layout of the whole temple.

On the other hand, the Second Horyu-ji bore a sign of a transition from the Shitenno-ji style to later temples. This was typically seen in the greater prominence given to the Kondo. Not only did the Kondo come to occupy the forecourt of the temple alongside the pagoda but it also received the most careful and

elaborate treatment both inside and outside. Inside, it possessed the frescoes, masterpieces of the most indisputable artistic value that Japan has ever produced, and the arrangement of the inner space seems to suggest that more importance was attached to the wall paintings than to the Buddhist statues. Outside, the external appearance became more symmetrically balanced owing to the addition of the four-door enclosed veranda. Both the Kondo and the pagoda seem to have been designed to receive the visit of the emperor and perhaps a few royal family members, which appears to indicate a tendency towards the diminishing closeness of the two principal temple buildings.

The characteristics of the Second Horyu-ji as a symbolic monument was expressed most clearly and forcibly in the dominant consideration given to the external effect. The sloping site was especially chosen to provide a panoramic setting for the temple buildings, which were carefully disposed to produce a depth of perspective. In order to enhance the harmonious effect of the whole complex, the internal dimensions of the individual buildings seem to have been determined by the consideration of its external balance with other buildings.

The Second Horyu-ji was designed primarily to be looked at from a distance, and the cloister had exclusive separateness. Both the Middle Gate and the

South Gate were called 'Buddha's gates' and closed to most people including the resident monks. Only a vague view of the inside of the cloister could be obtained through the lattice work of the east and west walls. The Second Horyu-ji was the most important Imperial monument among the early Buddhist temples that can be compared favourably with the Ise Shrine, which is supposed to have been re-built during the same period.

CHAPTER 6

FROM KAWAHARA-DERA TO TODAI-JI

CHAPTER 6

FROM KAWAHARA-DERA TO TODAI-JI

6.1 INTRODUCTION.

It was under the reign of Emperor Temmu (673-86), who succeeded his brother, Emperor Tenchi (Prince Nakano-o-e) that the Imperial Government established a definite policy towards Buddhism. While the emperor protected and encouraged Buddhism, he attempted to keep its development under his control. We have already noted (see 5.1) that Emperor Temmu's edict (685) ordering every household in all the provinces to make a family Buddhist altar and to worship Buddha appears to have paved the way for Buddhism to spread among the common people. On the other hand, Emperor Temmu also made it a rule that the three top-ranking high priests, Sojo (僧正), Sozu (僧都) and Risshi (律師), should be appointed by the emperor so that he could command all Buddhist priests and monks (Naoki, 1965, p.360).

Buddhism, however, was not the only religion that Temmu supported. The emperor, who ordered in 683 the repair and remodelling work of the main Shinto shrines throughout the country (see also 2.9), was also known as a generous patron of Shintoism (ibid, p. 358). Temmu himself clearly stated that his

principle was to 'rule the country by means of ceremonies and music' (Aoki, 1965, p.338). This would mean that the emperor tried to make use of ceremonies or festivals in order to emphasise the 'spiritual' bond between the nation and the people as well as to demonstrate his own prestige. Buddhism and Shintoism seem to have been used as intermediaries to unite people with the Imperial government, the basis of which was established after the coup of 645. Temmu standardised the ceremonies of the Court and extended their scale. He also made the ceremonies more elaborate and perhaps more entertaining. It should be noted that the emperor also gave great encouragement to music.

The code of laws (Asuka-no-kiyomigahara-ryo) issued in 686 suggests that a national orchestra existed at this period (Hagi, 1977, p.154). From the account given in the Nihon Shoki, which states that music was performed at the reception held at the Nishiki-no-shita (see 3.3) of Asuka-dera in 681, we can assume that musical performances were beginning to be part of national events in Temmu's reign. The large scale ceremonies were held in Buddhist temples and perhaps in Shinto shrines, but importance must have been attached to the theatrical effect of the ceremony rather than to its religious significance. As we shall see in the following section, the music

performed in Japanese national ceremonies was not on the whole genuinely religious music but popular music for entertainment originating in China and Korea.¹

It was natural therefore, that Temmu desired that the architecture of his period should accommodate elaborate ceremonies (as Kidder points out (1972, p.19)). The emperor ordered the construction of Yakushi-ji and the re-building of Daian-ji (Naoki, 1965, p.359), while he gave the two existing temples (i.e. Asuka-dera and Kawahara-dera) their own supporting household fiefs. These four Court-supported temples became the Four Great Temples of Fujiwara-kyo (see 4.5), which figured frequently in the activities of the Court. The references to Asuka-dera in the Nihon Shoki (see Table 1 in 3.3) clearly indicate that the Buddhist temples were used not only for religious ceremonies but also for the reception of foreign missions or for rank-awarding ceremonies.

Following the move of the capital from Fujiwara-kyo (Asuka) to Heijo-kyo (Nara) in 710, both Yakushi-ji and Daian-ji were transferred to the new

1. According to Hagi (1977, p.152), it was at the beginning of the tenth century that music acquired a religious significance in Japanese Buddhist ceremonies. While in the seventh and eighth centuries music was an entertaining element, it gradually came to be regarded as a religious element which gave a particular meaning to each proceeding of the ceremony (Hayashiya, 1970, p.243). At the end of the 12th century a Buddhist monk, Honen, founded the Jodo sect, which especially advocated the spiritual benefits of performing music (Hagi, 1977, p.153).

capital. The name of Ganko-ji (Asuka-dera, see 3.1) was given to a new temple built in Heijo-kyo in 718. Instead of Kawahara-dera, which remained in Asuka, Kofuku-ji joined the three above-mentioned temples, and together thus constituted the Four Great Temples of Heijo kyo. Kofuku-ji was started in 710 as a family temple of the Fujiwara clan, which had a growing influence in the Court after the coup of 645. As proof of the high power wielded by its patrons, Kofuku-ji was completed by the Imperial Government by the 730's (Aoki, 1965, p.134).

In the eighth century the relationship between the Imperial Government and Buddhism became steady and even closer. The absolute status of the emperor established by Temmu was maintained somehow by his successors, and there was a substantial increase in the nation's wealth (Tanabe, 1968, p.130). On the other hand, the Imperial systems were beginning to show disquieting symptoms: discontent of the lower-classes with the severe tax and administrative systems, frequent rebellions in the Tohoku (northern part of Honshu) and Satsuma (south of Kyushu) regions, which had recently come under the Government's control, and the power struggle among the high officials of the Court (Aoki, 1965, pp. 127-28, pp.258-72).

Buddhism underwent a further development, which is marked by the movement initiated by a Buddhist

monk, Gyogi (668-749). Before Gyogi the life of Buddhist monks was entirely confined to the temple as specified in the Soni-ryo, (regulations for Buddhist monks and nuns) which was included in the Taiho Civil and Penal Codes of 701. The Soni-ryo stated that monks and nuns should concentrate on learning Buddhist scriptures and ascetic practices, and it forbade them to engage in any activity outside the temple. In spite of these restrictions, Gyogi left his temple and started to preach Buddhism in the street (Aoki, 1965, p.303). Not only did he try to reach the lowest strata of society but Gyogi also launched many construction ventures to help farmers such as the building of bridges and river banks (ibid, p.303). Although the Government banned and suppressed Gyogi and his disciples, their movement rapidly gained ground and their influence grew to a substantial extent.

The Government's eventual approval of Gyogi in 731 did not mean a drastic change of its policy towards Buddhism. Gyogi was not, after all, a radical revolutionalist. When the construction of the colossal Buddha of Todai-ji was started 14 years later, Gyogi encouraged his followers to offer voluntary labour, and for this collaboration in the crowning project of Emperor Shomu (724-49), he was appointed to be the highest-ranking priest by the emperor in 745 (ibid, p.304). The Government's change of attitude towards

Gyogi, however, appears to indicate that although Buddhism continued to be used as a rationale to justify the Imperial systems, mere external manifestations of Buddhism (see 3.5) became an insufficient means of controlling people; thus the Imperial Government was forced to treat Buddhism as a religion in the proper sense of the word.

Many Buddhist monks who joined the governmental mission to China brought back Continental Buddhist practices and theories belonging to various sects. The political rulers could no longer afford not to show an interest in the philosophy of Buddhism. Unlike the earlier emperors, who encouraged the building of Buddhist temples while remaining themselves privately devotees of Shintoism, Emperor Shomu is known as one of the most ardent Buddhist rulers in Japanese history.² While he cultivated many Buddhist personalities, his consort, Empress Komyo, who came from the Fujiwara family, launched various charitable undertakings such as the founding of a royal infirmary and a food supply centre for the poor in Kofuku-ji in 730 (ibid, p.305).

From 735 to 737 the smallpox plague raged in the capital and the western part of Japan, destroying thousands of lives including those of the four Fujiwara leaders (ibid, pp.312-13). The country also suffered from a long drought. In 737 Shomu issued a statement saying that his insufficient devotion to Buddhism caused

2. In 749 the emperor, the empress and the emperor's mother became monk and nuns respectively (Aoki, 1965, p.361).

the plague and the dry weather, and he expressed his apologies to the whole country (*ibid*, p.313). In 740 Hirotsugu Fujiwara, nephew of the empress, raised a rebellion against the Imperial Court (*ibid*, p.322). While the Imperial troops were fighting the rebel army, the disheartened emperor left Heijo-kyo and frequently changed his residence. Although the rebellion was speedily put down, Shomu moved the capital to Kuni near Kyoto in 741, then to Naniwa in Osaka in 744 and finally to Heijo-kyo again in 745 (*ibid*, pp.330-35).

It was during this period of political instability that Shomu issued an edict requiring each province to erect a temple with a seven-storeyed pagoda as a repository for the Konkomyo-saisho-o sutra (see 4.4), and ordered the construction of an immense temple, Todai-ji in the capital. In his announcement of the proposed casting of the Todai-ji Buddha, Shomu stressed that the Buddha should be cast by means of voluntary contributions (see details in 6.5). Millions of workmen worked for a period of about twenty years, and the dedication of the Great Buddha was held in 752, which is recorded in the Shoku Nihongi (the Chronicles of Japan which cover the years 697-792) as the largest Buddhist ceremony that had taken place since the arrival of Buddhism. It was celebrated with unprecedented pomp and splendour (*ibid*, p.363); more than ten thousand monks attended the ceremony. (Fujii, 1949, p.90).

6.2 Ceremonial music of the 7th and 8th Centuries.

In the previous section we noted that music began to play an important role in the ceremonies and was given great encouragement by Emperor Temmu. In this section a brief mention will be made of the nature of the music developed during the seventh and eighth centuries.

As was the case with many other religions, Buddhism was closely related to music. In China and Korea, Buddhist music was mainly played around the pagoda for the repose of Buddha's soul represented by Busshari (see 3.4) (Oyama, 1962, p.16). In Japan, however, the music played in Buddhist ceremonies was not on the whole the genuinely religious music of Buddhism.

According to the Nihon Shoki, the Continental music and instruments were introduced to Japan by Korean musicians before the arrival of Buddhism (Hagi, 1977, p.36), but it was not until Prince Shotoku, the founder of the major Shitenno-ji style temples (see 4.2), that music received official encouragement. In 612 the prince gave orders to practice Buddhism by means of foreign music, and he founded a music centre at Sakurai-dera in Asuka where children chosen from the bureaucratic class were trained to form groups for the performance of music in Buddhist ceremonies (ibid, p.28). The music that Prince Shotoku chose for the trainees to learn was called Gigaku (伎楽), which originated in the Chinese

Wu (吳) Dynasty (220-280). The Gigaku was accompanying music for the silent mask drama which had little to do with Buddhism, but the Japanese may have adopted it as part of Buddhist culture (Hayashiya, 1969, p.28).

The most important code of music practice, however, was issued in 701 as part of the Taiho Civil and Penal Codes. According to the code, the Gagaku-ryo (the Department of Music) was founded as one of the Governmental organisations under the Ministry of Ceremony (Fujii, 1949, p.98). The regulations specify six types of music which musicians had to study: Japanese traditional music, two types of Chinese music and three types of Korean music as shown in the following table.

TABLE IV **THE ORGANISATION OF THE GAGAKU-RYO (THE DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC) AS SPECIFIED IN 701**
(based on Fujii, 1949, pp.99-101).

Directors	6
(a) Traditional Japanese song and dance	
Teachers of song	4
Singers (male)	30
Singers (female)	100
Teachers of dance	4
Dancers	100
Teachers of the flute	2
Flute students	6
Flute makers	8
(b) Chinese Tang music	39
(c) Korean music	
Music of Kokuryo	
Teachers	4
Students	20
Music of Paekche	
Teachers	4
Students	20
Music of Silla	
Teachers	4
Students	20
(d) Chinese Wu music	2

Apparently, the members of the Department of Music constituted the national orchestra and performed in the chief events of the Court including Buddhist

ceremonies. It is interesting to see that the Government not only placed the musicians under their control but also restricted musical performances to ceremonies. The Soni-ryo strictly forbade the monks and nuns to play music for private purposes (Hagi, 1977, p.74), and laid down that if monks or nuns played music for their own pleasure they would be given the punishment of 100 days hard labour (ibid, pp.73-4). Japanese Buddhist music concentrated upon musicians as a group: they were to play in national ceremonies and had therefore to form an impressive entity. In order to attach special importance to the ceremonies the Government had to exercise strict control over music. As the ceremony became extended and elaborate, music came to play an essential role, and eventually it penetrated into the sanctuary of the temple.

The earliest instance on record that ceremonies and music were performed inside the cloister is the dedication ceremony of a newly-cast image of Buddha at Todai-ji, which was held in 752 (Hayashiya, 1969, pp. 244-47). There are, however, many accounts in the Nihon Shoki that the Four Great Temples of Fujiwara-kyo were used for various national ceremonies though no reference was made about the location of the ceremonies, apart from the accounts relating to Asukadera, which specifically state that the official ceremonies took place outside the cloister (see 3.3)³

3. We may recall that there are two instances in the Nihon Shoki which record that the interior of the cloister was used for Buddhist ceremonies at Asukadera (see Table 1). It should be noted, however, that both ceremonies were of a private nature and involved perhaps not more than several people.

In the following section we shall build up a hypothesis that, as was the case with Todai-ji, the ceremonies took place in the courtyard at the Four Great Temples of Fujiwara-kyo and Heijo-kyo from the mid-seventh to the eighth century, excepting Asuka dera built in 588, and that the ceremonies themselves were the main concern of the architects who designed these temples.

6.3 General features of the post-Horyu-ji temples

Fig. 1 (see p. 7) shows the development of the temple plans from Asuka-dera to Todai-ji. Architectural historians have described the formal differences between these temples and have pointed out the observable tendency in the development, namely the gradual decline of the status of the pagoda (see 5.6). No analysis, however, has ever been made to explain the underlying reasons for the changes that occurred in the plan. We have already argued in the preceding chapters that Asuka-dera, Shitenno-ji style temples and the Second Horyu-ji were designed essentially as symbolic monuments to be looked at from a distance. The later state temples such as Yakushi-ji and Daian-ji, however, appear to have been built on a different principle of design to suit the more practical function of accommodating elaborate ceremonies. Furthermore, we shall notice that some of the distinctive features of the post-Horyu-ji (Second) temples were already possessed by Kawahara-dera, which was built before the Second Horyu-ji.

The most notable feature shared by the post-Horyu-ji temples is that they have a much bigger courtyard than the earlier temples. There are many eleventh century records⁴ stating that the ceremonies took place in the courtyard of the temples built during the eighth century, but we cannot simply assume that the same practice was carried out during the seventh and eighth centuries, because Japanese Buddhism and temple architecture underwent a further marked development by the middle of the eleventh century.⁵ Yet, there are two historical records, the Chronicle of Todai-ji and the Shoku Nihongi, which mention the ceremonies held in the courtyard of the temple in the mid-eighth century. The former states that the dedication ceremony of the Great Buddha took place in the space between the Kondo and the Middle Gate at Todai-ji in 752, which is, as mentioned before (see 6.1), the earliest instance on record of the national ceremony held inside the cloister. The latter records that in 761 a musical performance was given in the courtyard of Yakushi-ji on a ceremonial occasion (Hayashiya, 1969, p.114). From these two accounts we might be able to assume that ceremonies

4. e.g. the Chronicle of Kofuku-ji, 1048c

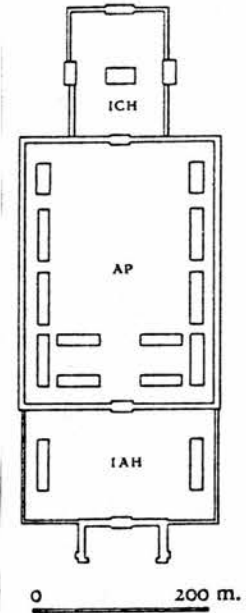
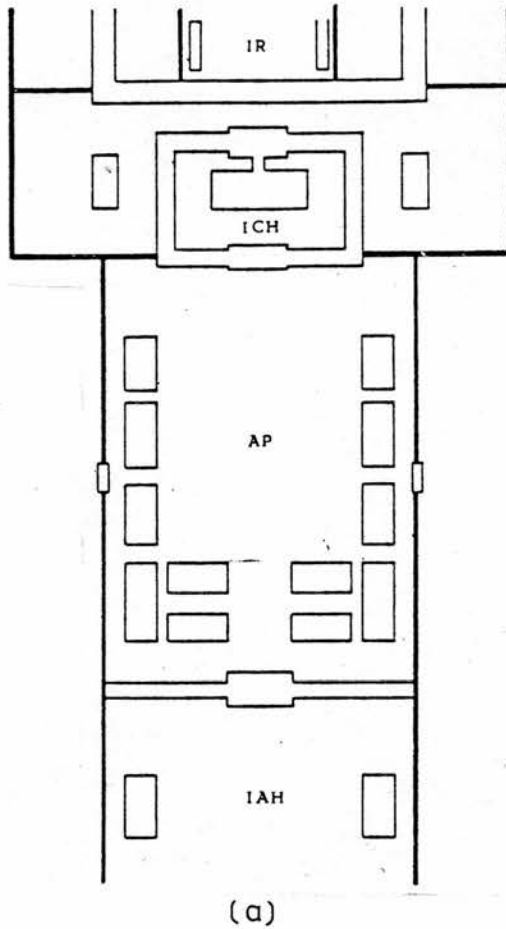
5. The cloister disappeared from the temple design, and the Kondo became more spacious and open to worshippers, as seen, for example, in the Ho-o-do temple built in 1053 (see also 7.6).

took place in the courtyard at least in the Four Great Temples of Heijo-kyo. However, the architectural details, which will be discussed later, will indicate more clearly the period when the temple courtyard is likely to have begun to be used for ceremonies.

We shall now define the space used for ceremonies in more strict terms. As there is a record (N.K.B.K., 1959, pp.74-5) that in the Heijo-kyo palace, ceremonies and receptions normally took place in the courtyard of the Cho-do-in (Administrative palace, see Fig. 106-a) and as the palace of the Fujiwara-kyo also had an equivalent space (see Fig. 106-b), we shall assume that the space used for ceremonies from the mid-seventh to the eighth century was rectangular. Then from the record of 752 we consider the rectangular space between the Kondo and the Middle Gate to be the space which is most likely to have been used for ceremonies inside the cloister (see the coloured space in Fig. 107). We shall refer to this particular space hereafter as a 'courtyard' in this chapter. A comparison of the size of the 'courtyard' has been made between the major state temples of the Asuka-Nara era in Table V.

Fig.106 (a) Plan of the palaces of Heijo-kyo
(Kidder,1972,p.71)

(b) Plan of the Fujiwara Palace
(Kidder,1972,p.66)



(b)

IR=Imperial Residence (Dai-ri)

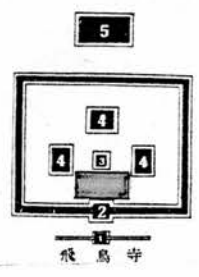
ICH=Imperial Council Hall (Dai-goku-den)

AP=Administrative Palace (Cho-do-in)

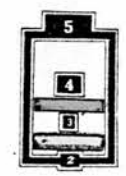
IAH=Imperial Assembly Hall (Cho-shu-den)

Fig.107 'Courtyard' space of the major state temples of the Asuka-Nara era.

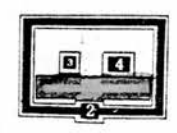
(based on Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai,1968,F.17)



(a) Asuka-dera



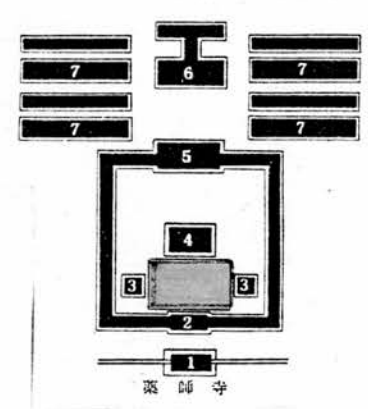
(b) Shitenno-ji



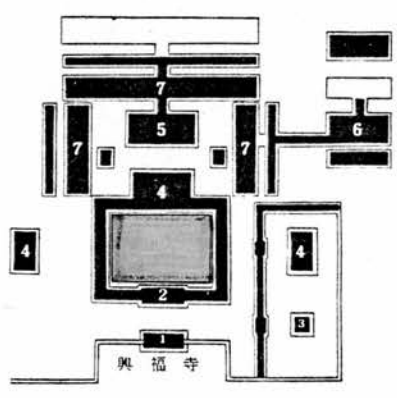
(c) the Second Horyu-ji



(d) Kawahara-dera



(e) Yakushi-ji



(f) Daian-ji style temples

- (1) south gate
- (2) middle gate
- (3) pagoda
- (4) Kondo
- (5) Lecture Hall
- (6) Refectory
- (7) Dormitory

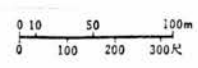


TABLE V. COMPARISON OF THE SIZE OF THE 'COURTYARD' OF THE
MAJOR STATE TEMPLES OF THE ASUKA-NARA ERA.

temple	construction period	a	b	a x b = d	a : b	c	inner space of the cloister (e)	ratio of the 'court-yard' to the inner space of the cloister (d/e)
Asuka-dera	588	17 ^m	37 ^m	629 ^{m2}	1:2.2	21	104x80=8,320 ^{m2}	8.0 %
Shitenno-ji	593	18 ⁷	62	1,116	1:3.4	42	90x62=5,580	20
		16	62	992	1:3.9			17.8
Second Horyu-ji	708	16	81	1,296	1:5.1	37	81x54=4,374	29.6
Kawahara-dera	661-67	33	23	759	(b:a) 1:1.5	29	68x40=2,720	27.9
Yakushi-ji	late 7th century	35	58	2,030	1:1.7	25	96x93=8,928	22.7
Daian-ji	late 7th century	53	65	3,445	1:1.2	31	62x65=4,030	85.5
Kofuku-ji	mid-8th century	45	67	3,015	1:1.5	29	67x48=3,216	93.8
Ganko-ji	after 718	54	75	4,050	1:1.4	29	112x75=8,400	48.2
Todai-ji	mid-8th century	70	125	8,750	1:1.8	190	88x125=11,000	79.5

a = length of the 'courtyard'

b = width of the 'courtyard'

c = distance between the Middle Gate and the South Gate

6. The figures were calculated on the basis of Figs. (a)-(i) in Appendix III.
7. In Shitenno-ji style temples, as the pagoda stands between the Middle Gate and the Kondo, the size of two rectangular spaces, i.e. the space between the Middle Gate and the pagoda (a1 x b) and the space between the Kondo and the pagoda (a2 x b) have been calculated.

Table V clearly shows that the ratio of the space of the 'courtyard' to the inner space of the cloister becomes greatly increased in the Daian-ji style temples, where the Kondo was moved to the north side of the cloister while the pagodas were placed well ahead of the Middle Gate. Furthermore, we shall notice that the shape of the 'courtyard' must not have been very appropriate for large scale ceremonies in Shitenno-ji, the Second Horyu-ji and perhaps in Asukadera because of the relatively large difference between the two sides of the rectangle. In the 'courtyard' of the temples, where, according to historical documents, ceremonies were definitely held, the measurement of the longer side of the rectangle never exceeded twice the measurement of the shorter side: the ratio of the two sides of the 'courtyard' was (1:1.4) in the Cho-do-in of the Heijo-kyo palace, (1:1.8) in Todai-ji and (1:1.7) in Yakushi-ji. In this regard Kawahara-dera is the earliest temple where the two sides of the 'courtyard' showed a similar ratio to those observed in the above-mentioned 'courtyards'.

Kawahara-dera, however, appears to mark a turning point in the development of Japanese temple architecture also in other respects. In this temple the ratio that the space of the 'courtyard' bore to that of the cloister was bigger than the corresponding ratio observed in any other preceding state temple.

This change will be most clearly seen if we compare Kawahara-dera and Asuka-dera. Although Asuka-dera had a cloister three times as large as that of Kawahara-dera, the 'courtyard' was smaller in Asuka-dera than in Kawahara-dera by 20%.

Table V also indicates that, compared with Shitenno-ji style temples and the Second Horyu-ji, in the later temples the distance between the Middle Gate and the South Gate became shorter, with the exception of Todai-ji. Here again Kawahara-dera appears to mark a point of change. In Asuka-dera the South Gate stood at a distance of 21m from the Middle Gate, which is a relatively short distance (see Table V), but if we recall that in the Buddhist ceremony held in this temple in 677 the emperor stood at the South Gate and the officials were positioned at the Ishijiki-hiroba (see 3.3), we must note that the distance between the South Gate and the Ishijiki-hiroba was 32-44m (see Fig. 86). In Asuka-dera the view point was supposed to be the Ishijiki-hiroba.

Thus, we may assume that in the earlier temples, where the main emphasis was given to external effect, the viewpoint, i.e. the South Gate (the Ishijiki-hiroba in the case of Asuka-dera) had to be set at a certain distance from the Middle Gate (the South Gate in the case of Asuka-dera), which is far enough to enhance the external view of the temple. It seems, however,

that such consideration became unnecessary when national ceremonies came to take place inside the cloister: both the Middle Gate and the South Gate became nothing but passing points for the attendants of the ceremony.

A tremendous increase in the distance between the two gates observed in Todai-ji may have been intended to establish a visual balance between the temple buildings of unusual size, but considering the peculiar nature of the temple (see details in 6.6), it should also be interpreted as an exceptional treatment. National ceremonies are supposed to have become more theatrical and spectacular by the time Todai-ji was constructed. According to the account given in the Shoku Nihongi of the dedication ceremony of the Todai-ji Great Buddha, before the actual ceremony began the procession of the monks, musicians and dancers assembled at the South Gate and proceeded by way of the Middle Gate to the temporary stage set in the courtyard. With due regard to Emperor Shomu's motive to build Todai-ji and the actual process of its construction supported by voluntary contributions from every social class (see 6.6), it would not be unreasonable to assume that the great distance between the Middle Gate and the South Gate was meant to allow the common people, who could not participate in the ceremony, to witness an impressive parade of the monks, musicians and dancers. In the

following pages we will study the plans of Kawahara-dera, Yakushi-ji and Todai-ji in detail to see how the design of these temples mark different stages of a new development after the Second Horyu-ji.

6.4 Kawahara-dera.

Documents are missing which detail the beginnings of Kawahara-dera, but it is generally believed to have been completed some time between 661 and 667 (Fukuyama, 1974, p.75). Unlike the Second Horyu-ji, Kawahara-dera no longer exists, but there has been an extensive archaeological excavation of the site.

Kawahara-dera lay across the fields and the river from Asuka-dera and below Tachibana-dera (see Fig. 108).

Not only was it one of the Four Great Temples of Fujiwara-kyo but the temple also seems to have had a close relationship with Emperor Temmu. We have already noted (see 6.1) that as soon as Temmu was enthroned in 673, he provided Kawahara-dera and Asuka-dera with their own supporting household fiefs. The Nihon Shoki also records that the following year (674) the Issaikyo sutra was copied at Kawahara-dera on the instruction of the Court for the first time (Naoki, 1965, pp.359-60).

The most notable record about this temple, however, is that of the Nihon Shoki, which states that in 686 the orchestra of Kawahara-dera was dispatched to Tsukushi (Kyushu) to entertain the mission from Silla.

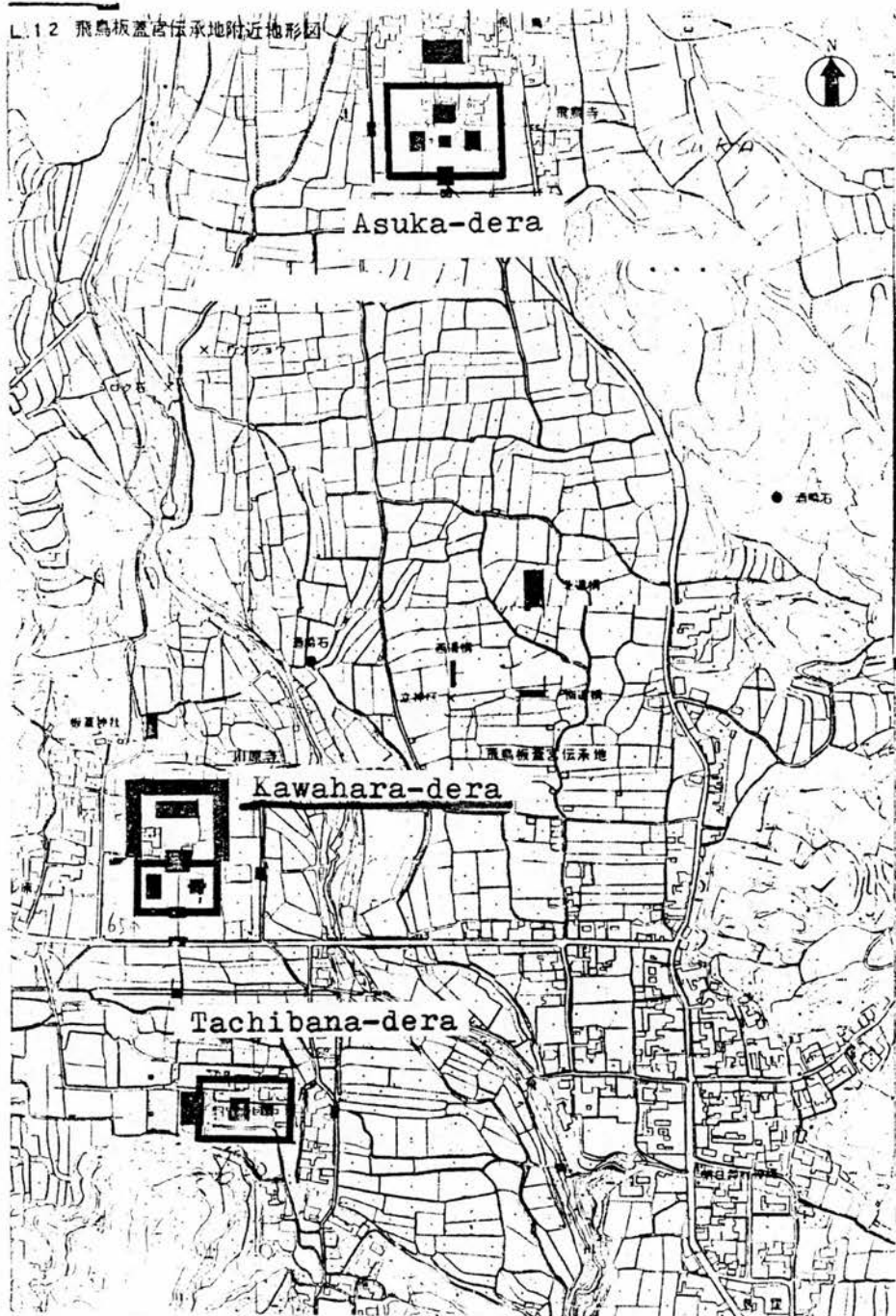


Fig.108 Location of Kawahara-dera
(N.K.B.K.,1960,L.12)

As Fujii (1949, p.73) points out, this account clearly indicates that Kawahara-dera had its own resident orchestra, and this is the earliest record of the Japanese Buddhist temple with its own band of musicians. This account in the Nihon Shoki seems to give strong support to my hypothesis that music was performed inside the cloister in Kawahara-dera.

If we now consider the plan of Kawahara-dera (see Fig. 109), we can see that there is a drastic change from the plans of the earlier temples and the Second Horyu-ji. First, while both Asuka-dera and Shitenno-ji style temples were symmetrical along the longitudinal axis, at Kawahara-dera the axis between Kondo and pagoda has shifted through 90 degrees and the front view of the temple lacks symmetry. Nor is it possible to impose upon the facade of Kawahara-dera any grid which will reveal an underlying geometrical structure or any special consideration for overall balance, as was observed in the Second Horyu-ji.

Secondly, a second quadrangle was attached to the main cloister. This contained a range of buildings designed to house monks as well as a central lecture hall. The bringing of all the buildings together would suggest that less emphasis was being placed upon the sacred and exclusive nature of the inner cloister, compared, say, with the Second Horyu-ji, where the locations pertaining to the monks' daily life such as

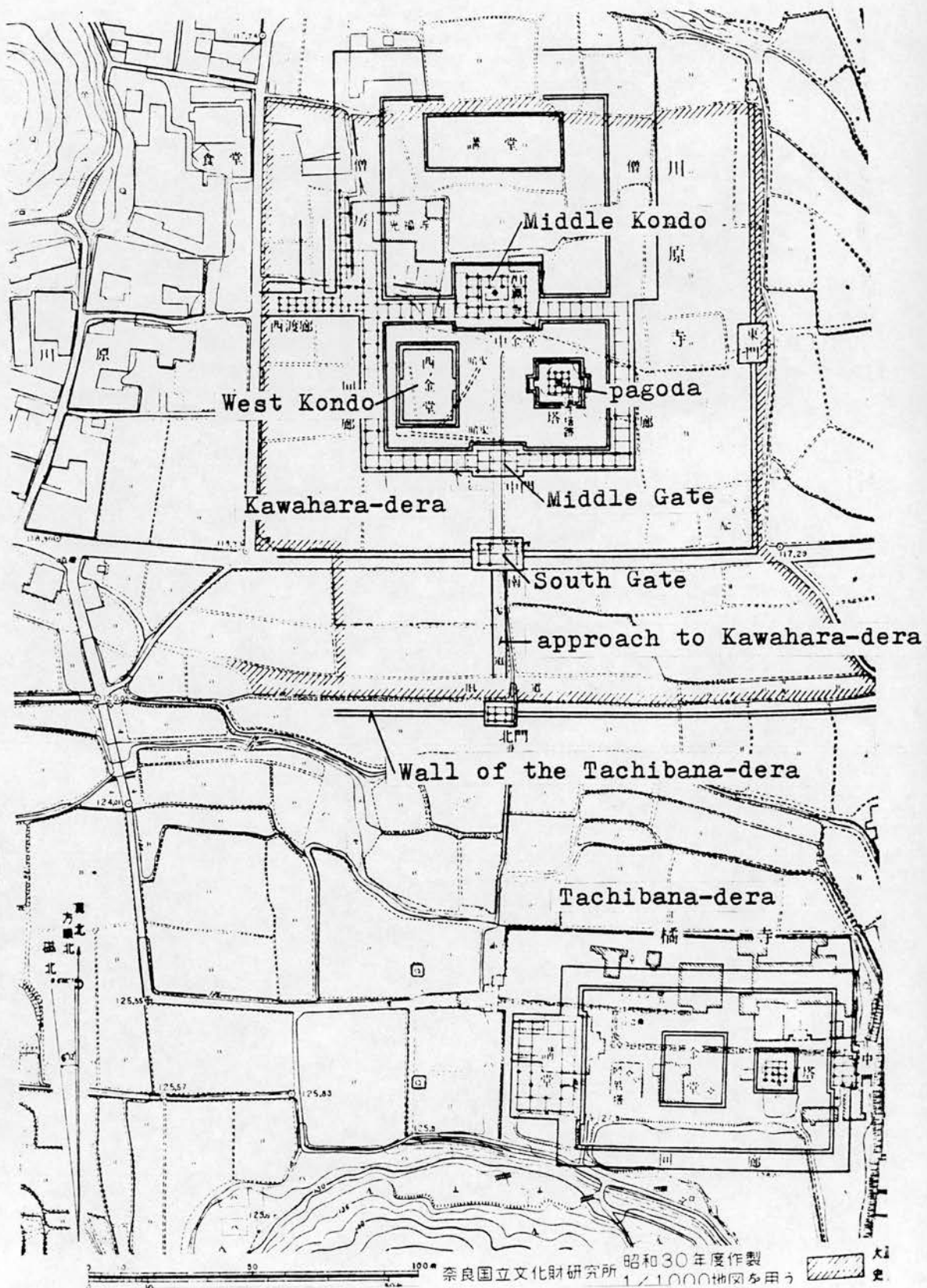


Fig.109 Plan of Kawahara-dera

(N.K.B.K.,1960,L.1)

the dormitory, Lecture Hall and the refectory were kept firmly separated from the cloister. Thirdly, the Kondo and the pagoda were displaced from their central positions in the cloister to a position on the periphery.

If we examine the distance between the buildings within the cloister of Kawahara-dera, in comparison with Asuka-dera, Shitenno-ji and the Second Horyu-ji, it will become evident that at Kawahara-dera efforts have been made to provide a maximum open space in the centre of the cloister. In the earlier temples a minimal distance can be observed between the pagoda and Kondo of Asuka-dera (12m).⁸ In the Second Horyu-ji the pagoda and the Kondo were set closest at a distance of 13m. In Kawahara-dera, however, a minimal distance became considerably reduced to 4m as observed between the West Kondo and the Middle Kondo, which was attached to the cloisters. Moreover, the West Kondo stood at a distance of only 4.56m from the west side of the cloister, while the pagoda was 6.3m from the east side of the cloister. These figures show that both the Kondo and the pagoda of Kawahara-dera were moved to the sides of the cloister to an unprecedented extent. This tendency to provide a large central space in the cloister was to be followed and further strengthened in the later temples of the eighth century. While in Yakushi-ji each

8. The figures were calculated on the basis of Figs. (a)-(e) in Appendix III.

pagoda stood 6m from the cloister, in Ganko-ji the pagodas were pushed to the outside of the cloister. In Daian-ji style temples, the Kondo finally became attached to the cloister.

That the central space within the main cloister would have been the only possible place to hold a ceremony, will be understood if we look closely at the site of Kawahara-dera (see Fig. 108). There was the approach to the temple, 2.8m wide and 38m long, which came to an end where it met with the road running across it. The road, which is 2m wide, bordered on the site of Tachibana-dera. From this, one can see that there was no place in front of Kawahara-dera which would be equivalent to the Ishijiki-hiroba of Asuka-dera. Nor have archaeologists uncovered the site corresponding to the Nishiki-no-shita of Asuka-dera, which is recorded to have been used for musical performances (see 3.3). Thus, we may assume that it was not possible to hold a ceremony or musical performance outside Kawahara-dera. As far as the inside of the second cloister is concerned, as there is no document mentioning a ceremony held in the sphere of the monks' daily life, it is highly unlikely that this part of the temple was designed or used for ceremonial purposes.

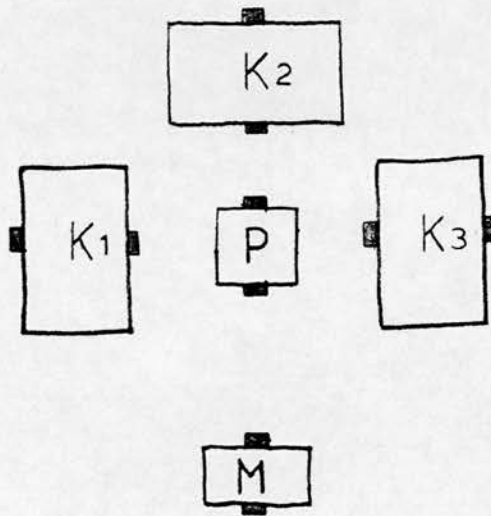
Another piece of evidence suggesting the location of the ceremony at Kawahara-dera is the positioning of the doors of the pagoda and the two

Kondos. As can be seen from Fig. 110, both the pagoda and Kondo had four doors at each cardinal point in the Shitenno-ji style temples and the Second Horyu-ji. In Kawahara-dera, however, the pagoda and Kondos had only two doors each, and they were positioned centering around the 'courtyard', which seems to indicate the importance now attached to this space. Although in Asuka-dera the positioning of the doors of the Kondos was the same as in Kawahara-dera, the doors of the pagoda, together with those of the West Kondo, lined up along the north-south axis, thus giving emphasis to the facade of the temple. On the other hand, at Kawahara-dera the doors of the pagoda were aligned along the east-west axis laying stress not on the front of the temple but on the central space.

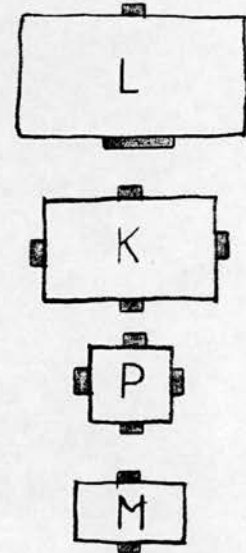
The importance of the central space can also be seen in the emphasis placed on the facade of the Middle Kondo. This Kondo had more doors (3) at the south side than at the north side (1) (see Fig. 109), and only the front was colonnaded (see Fig. 111). A relatively large size of the veranda of the Middle Kondo seems to be a further conclusive indication that the ceremonies took place in the 'courtyard' in Kawahara-dera. While the inner space of the building⁹ was 191.75m^2 , the veranda of the Middle Kondo occupied a

9. The figures relating to Kawahara-dera Kondo were calculated on the basis of Fig. (d) in Appendix III.

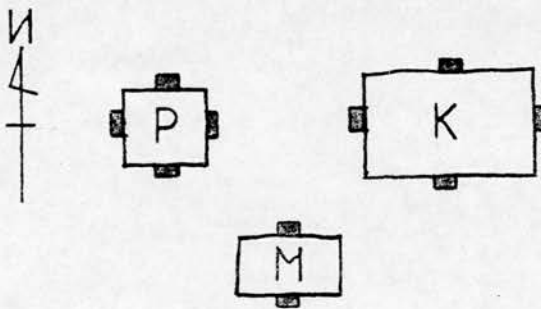
Fig.110 The position of the doors of the Kondo and pagoda at Asuka-dera(a), Shitenno-ji(b), the Second Horyu-ji(c) and Kawahara-dera(d).



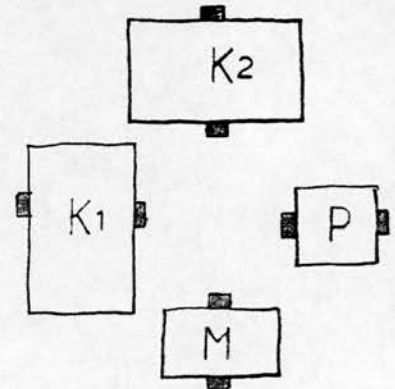
(a) Asuka-dera



(b) Shitenno-ji

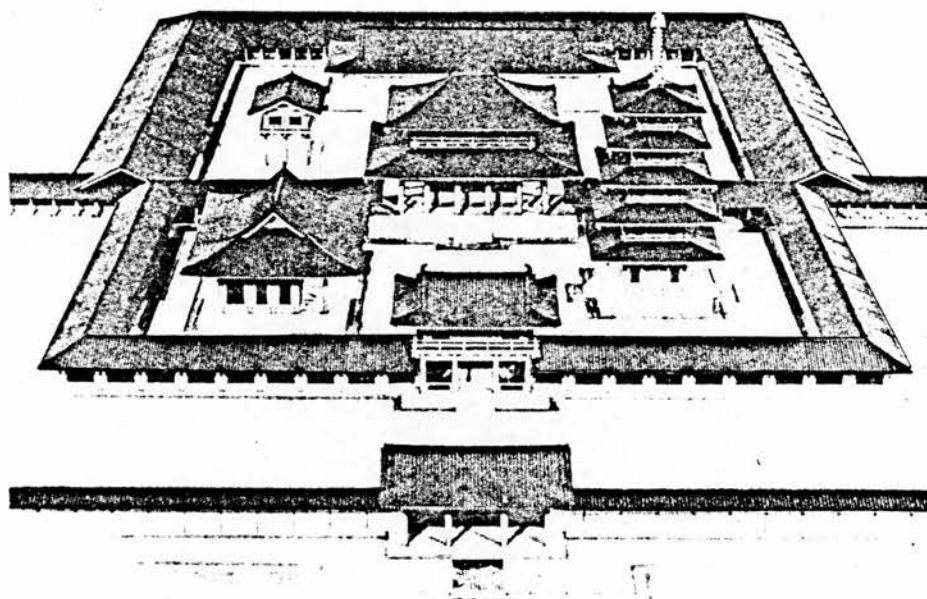


(c) the Second Horyu-ji



(d) Kawahara-dera

P: pagoda
M: Middle Gate
K: Kondo
L: Lecture Hall



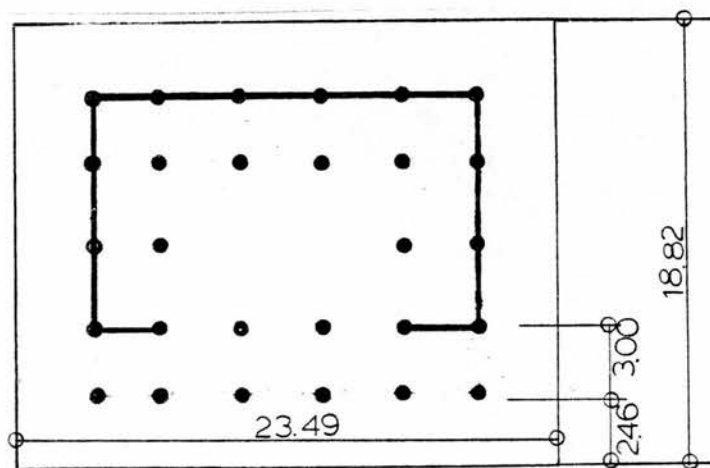
川原寺伽藍復原模型

Fig.111 Reconstructed model of Kawahara-dera
(Tsuboi,1974,F.57)

space of 250.28m^2 , which is 30% again as big as the inner area. A comparison with the Kondo of the Korean Koryu-ji, built in 582 (see 5.5), would reveal that in the Kawahara-dera Middle Kondo the veranda occupied an extremely large space. In the case of the Koryu-ji, the space of the veranda was 735.1m^2 , 83.3% of the inner space of the Kondo building (882.09m^2).

The veranda of the Kawahara-dera Middle Kondo was 60cm above the ground level. Owing to the columns, the veranda became 5.46m wide in front, while it was 2.46m wide on the other sides (see Fig. 112 below).

Fig. 112. PLAN OF THE MIDDLE KONDO OF KAWAHARA-DERA

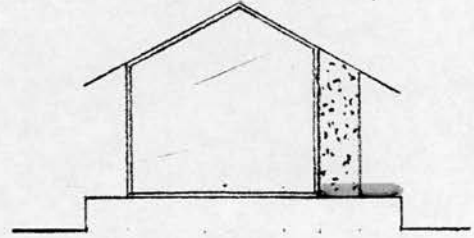
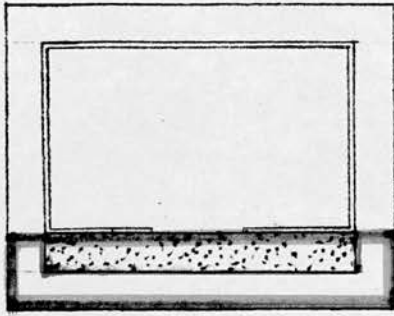


unit of measurement: m

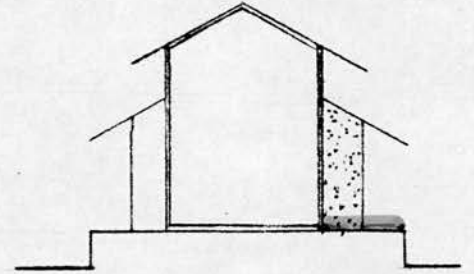
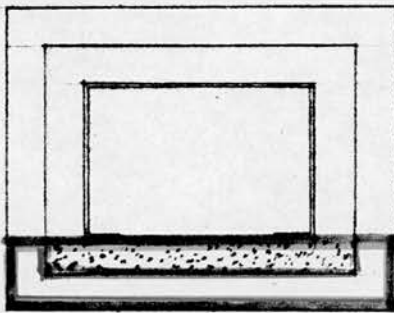
It is this front part of the Kondo that is most likely to have been used as the Imperial stand in national ceremonies. We assume this from the description of the ceremonies in the Chronicle of Todai-ji and the Chronicle of Kofuku-ji. According to the former, in the dedication ceremony of the Great Buddha held in 752 all the doors of the Kondo were open and the emperor and royal family members were seated in the space between the doors and the Buddha platform (see the shaded space in Fig. 113-c) with high officials behind on both sides. Although this space belongs to the inside of the Kondo building, it appears to have been treated as the extension of the veranda when all the seven double-leaf doors were open. The latter records that in the great memorial ceremony held in the mid-eleventh century the space between the doors and the columns in the front veranda (see the shaded space in Fig. 113-b) was occupied by Yorimichi Fujiwara, the then prime minister and also the host of that particular ceremony.¹⁰ Thus, we can see that the front veranda served as a space to mark a hierarchical division between the sponsor of the ceremony (i.e. the emperor during the seventh and eighth centuries) and other attendants.

10. By this time the power had virtually been taken over by the Fujiwara family and the emperor was simply a figurehead.

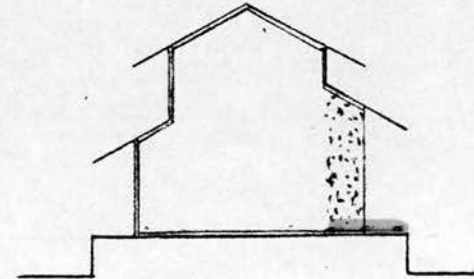
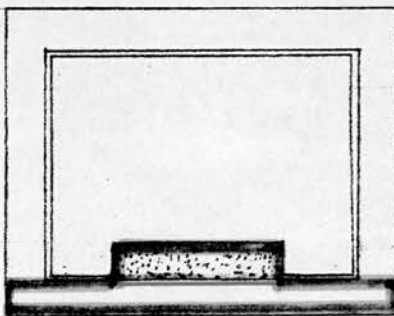
Fig.113 The Kondo veranda of
 (a)Kawahara-dera, (b)Yakushi-ji and
 (c)Todai-ji.



(a) Kawahara-dera



(b) Yakushi-ji/Kofuku-ji



(c) Todai-ji

In the temples following Kawahara-dera, the veranda of the Kondo became larger and was raised higher from the ground level. In the Yakushi-ji Kondo where the four sides were colonnaded, the veranda was 1.5m, 0.9m higher than in the Kawahara-dera Middle Kondo (0.6m), and occupied 3562.5m^2 , which is more than ten times as large as the Kawahara-dera veranda. In the case of Yakushi-ji, again the veranda occupied a larger space than the main building (3100m^2), and the frontage (see the coloured space in Fig. 113-a,b) was increased to 383.35m^2 from that of Kawahara-dera (128.09m^2). It should also be noted that a pent roof was attached to the veranda in the Yakushi-ji Kondo.

The Todai-ji Kondo was surrounded by a 3m-wide veranda, which was further raised to 2.1m above the ground. In the front part, which was colonnaded in Kawahara-dera, Yakushi-ji and in Kofuku-ji, there were seven double-leaf doors and the wall. Including the inner space used as the Imperial stand (306m^2), the front veranda (see the coloured space in Fig. 113-c) was 716m^2 .

In this section we have argued that the innovatory changes observed in the plan of Kawahara-dera reflect a change from a visual to a pragmatic emphasis and that Kawahara-dera appears to have been the first Japanese Buddhist temple designed to accommodate ceremonies. The change, however, did not occur all at once.

In Kawahara-dera we can clearly see the attempt to affect a compromise between the new and old requirements, which led to its being not entirely successful. For example, as we noted in 4.6, in Kawahara-dera an attempt was made to preserve the idea of the 'immaculate line' by adding just two extra bays to the ($\sqrt{2}:1$) ratio, controlling the plan of the cloister. As a result of this attempt the pagoda and the two Kondos were moved to the sides of the cloister, destroying the visual balance between the temple buildings and providing insufficient space in the courtyard for ceremonies of a large scale. This would have made Kawahara-dera somewhat unsatisfactory as a state temple of the eighth century, which would possibly be the main reason why, unlike the other Great Temples of Fujiwara-kyo, only Kawahara-dera was not transferred to the new capital, Heijo-kyo. It was not until Yakushi-ji that the visual and pragmatic functions of the temple were fused successfully.

6.5 Yakushi-ji.

The construction of Yakushi-ji was ordered by Emperor Temmu in 680 as a votive offering for the recovery¹¹ of his consort, later Empress Jito, who had contracted an eye disease (Naoki, 1965, p.396). According to the Shoku Nihongi, the temple was completed around 698 by Empress Jito herself who succeeded Temmu

11. Yakushi is the Buddha of healing.

after his death (ibid, p.396), but there is another theory that the temple was actually started at another location in Asuka and was subsequently moved to Fujiwara-kyo (ibid, p.398). Although this theory might explain the relatively long time taken to get the temple built, no substantial evidence has ever been offered by its supporters.

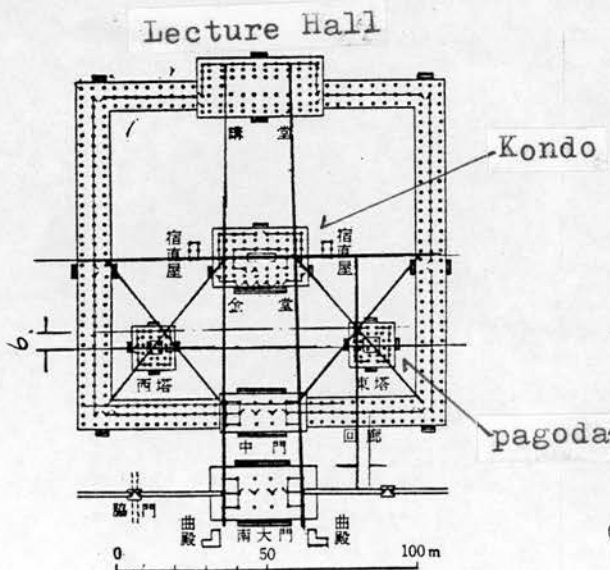
In 718 Yakushi-ji was transferred to Heijo-kyo, but there are also two conflicting views about how the temple was moved. As the well-preserved stone bases of the temple buildings show that the Fujiwara-kyo Yakushi-ji and the Heijo-kyo Yakushi-ji were exactly the same in scale, it was generally believed that the original Yakushi-ji buildings were dismantled and moved to the new capital in sections. In 1937, however, Adachi, a Japanese archaeologist, contested this view and suggested that the Heijo-kyo Yakushi-ji was newly built, perhaps based on the same plan as that of the Fujiwara-kyo Yakushi-ji, from which it took only the name of the temple, as was the case with Ganko-ji (Asuka-dera) (Naoki, 1965, p.399). The two theories, the details of which will not be given, are still being disputed among archaeologists, but it will suffice here to note that our argument in this chapter is based on the plan of the Heijo-kyo Yakushi-ji.

Fig. 114 is the plan of Yakushi-ji.

Yakushi-ji is the first Japanese Buddhist temple to

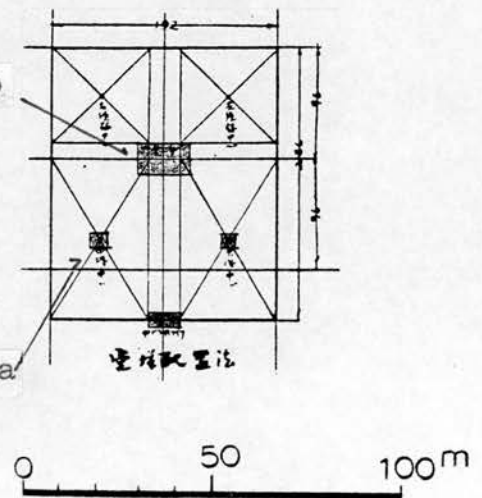
introduce a pair of pagodas, and the buildings inside the cloister seem to have been disposed on the basis of two principal considerations: (i) there is a most precise symmetrical arrangement of a kind similar to the older form of the Shitenno-ji style (although the ($\sqrt{2}:1$) ratio has now been abandoned), and (ii) an extremely large space has been created between the three standing buildings and the Middle Gate. We have already noted (see 6.3) that the 'courtyard' of Yakushi-ji (2030m^2) was considerably larger than that of Kawahara-dera (693m^2). At Kawahara-dera there were two Kondos: at Yakushi-ji there was only one, centrally placed and holding the balance between the two pagodas.

Fig. 114 PLAN OF YAKUSHI-JI
(Ota et al., 1974, F.1-80)



1.80 図 薬師寺復原図

Fig.115 PLAN OF BOTOKU-JI
(Fujishima, 1969, Fig.8)



That attempts have been made in Yakushi-ji to provide a maximum space between the Kondo and the Middle Gate will be clearly shown if we compare its plan with that of Botoku-ji (望徳寺), built in Silla (Korea) around 684 (Fujishima, 1969, p.65). From Fig. 114 and Fig. 115, we can see that in Botoku-ji the position of the two pagodas was better-balanced in relation to the Kondo and the Middle Gate than in Yakushi-ji. While in both Botoku-ji and Yakushi-ji a pair of pagodas stood symmetrically about the longitudinal axis of the cloister, it is in Botoku-ji only that the pagodas stood on the horizontal line of axis which divided the south half of the cloister right into two. Compared with the Botoku-ji pagodas, the Yakushi-ji pagodas were shifted approximately 6m southward, and thus drawn as far as possible away from the Kondo, and so rose from the front corners of the enclosure.

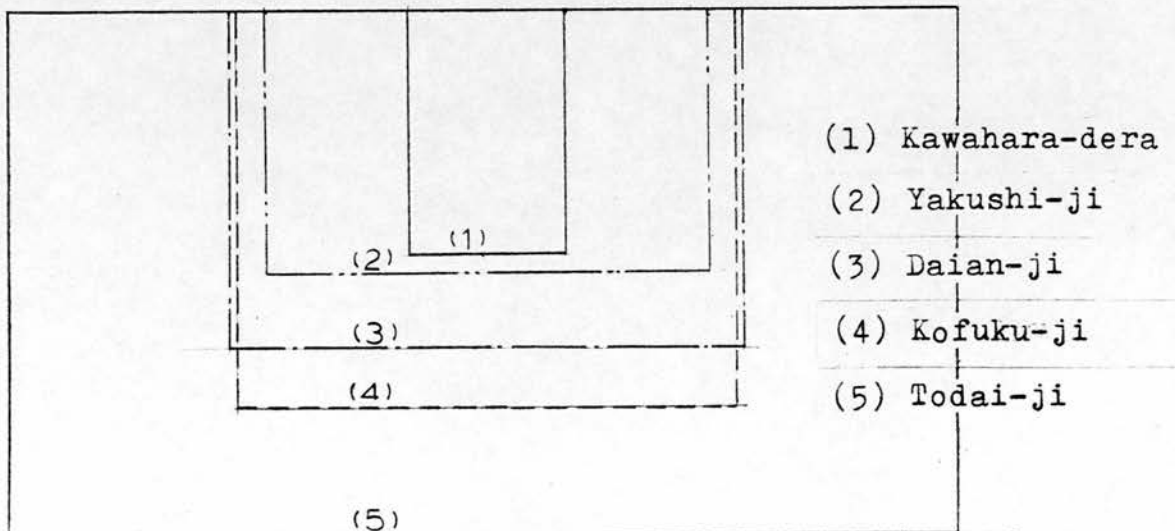
At Yakushi-ji the Kondo finally emerged to supremacy, and the front of the Kondo became even more emphasised than in Kawahara-dera. Archaeologists have shown that the doors on the south side of the Yakushi-ji Kondo were five in number up a wider flight of steps (Fukuyama, 1974, p.77), although the present reconstructed building has only three doors.¹²

12. The present Kondo was erected in 1600, directly on the old base stones (Kidder, 1972, p.109).

Considering that there was only one door on the north side, as had been the case with Kawahara-dera, this range of doors at the front seems to be indicative of the fact that more importance was attached to the 'courtyard'. As the east and west pagodas had only one door each on the west and east side respectively, all the doors of the buildings inside the cloister were now positioned in the facades which looked inwards into the 'courtyard'.

While in Kawahara-dera the dimensions of the 'courtyard' were larger in length than in width, the 'courtyard' of Yakushi-ji stretched wider in horizontal direction. As we saw in Table V, although the size of the 'courtyard' became increasingly larger in the temples after Yakushi-ji, there was no considerable change in the ratio of the two sides of the rectangle: the dimension of the longer (horizontal) side remained less than twice as large as that of the shorter (longitudinal) side (see also Fig. 116).

Fig. 116. COMPARISON OF THE SIZE OF THE 'COURTYARD'



Therefore, we can assume that the basic shape of the ceremonial site would have been fixed by the time Yakushi-ji was constructed.

Although the argument we put forward on Kawahara-dera, based on its physical details and circumstantial documentation, was to a large extent hypothetical, when it comes to Yakushi-ji, we have firm evidence that the space bounded by the Middle Gate, the Kondo and the two pagodas was used for the ceremony and musical performance held in 761 (see 6.3). There is also evidence that Yakushi-ji had its own orchestra. The Chronicle of Todai-ji states that in 861 when the Buddha was given a new head, each orchestra from Todai-ji, Kofuku-ji, Daian-ji, Ganko-ji and Yakushi-ji played different types of music (Hayashiya, 1970, p.242). The Shoku Nihongi records that at the dedication ceremony of the Todai-ji Buddha, apart from the national orchestra of the Gagaku-ryo (Governmental Music Department) orchestras came from various temples and gave a performance (Aoki, 1965, p.363). From this it is generally believed (e.g. Hayashiya, 1970, p.242) that by 752 when the dedication ceremony took place, Yakushi-ji, as well as the other Great Temples of Heijo-kyo, had its own orchestra.

The completion of Yakushi-ji almost coincided with the foundation of the Gagaku-ryo. It is interesting to see that details associated with music can be observed in the Yakushi-ji pagoda, which is the only

building in the present temple that has remained intact as it was built around 730 (Fukuyama, 1974, p.78). It is what is known as the Suien (水煙 = water flames) found just below the top of the spire of the pagoda (see Fig. 117), a bronze decoration in the shape of flickering flames. Figures are interwoven with the flames, and at the base-line of the Suien two flute players kneel, while four heavenly maidens are drawn downwards through the water and fire in response to ethereal music.¹³

According to Fujii (1949, pp.110-13), Yakushi-ji also had a wall painting of music players in the west pagoda and similar drawings were found in the Kofuku-ji Kondo and the Todai-ji Amida-in (a hall dedicated to Amitabha). That the music players were represented in

13. Later the Japanese Shingon sect, which was founded by the monk Kukai (see 7.6), built stone stupas (sotoba), which faithfully preserved the tradition of Indian Buddhist symbolism, as monuments for the dead (Govinda, 1976, p.93). The stupa consisted of a sphere upon a cube, a pyramid upon the sphere, and upon the pyramid a cup-like hemisphere which carries a flame on its plane surface. (see Fig. 118 on the right). Each part represented earth, water, fire, air and ether respectively. The flame at the top, which symbolised ether, was the synthesis of solar and lunar energies, which leads to the final realization of enlightenment. The Suien of Yakushi-ji which seems to show the influence of this Indian Buddhist symbol, may have had a similar significance to that of the ether flame.

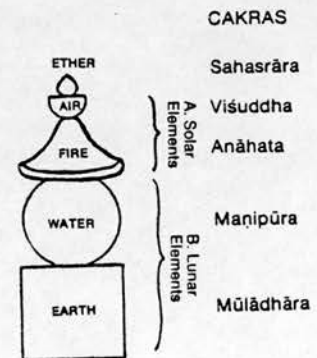


Fig.118
The sotoba of the
Shingon sect
(Govinda, 1976, p.95)

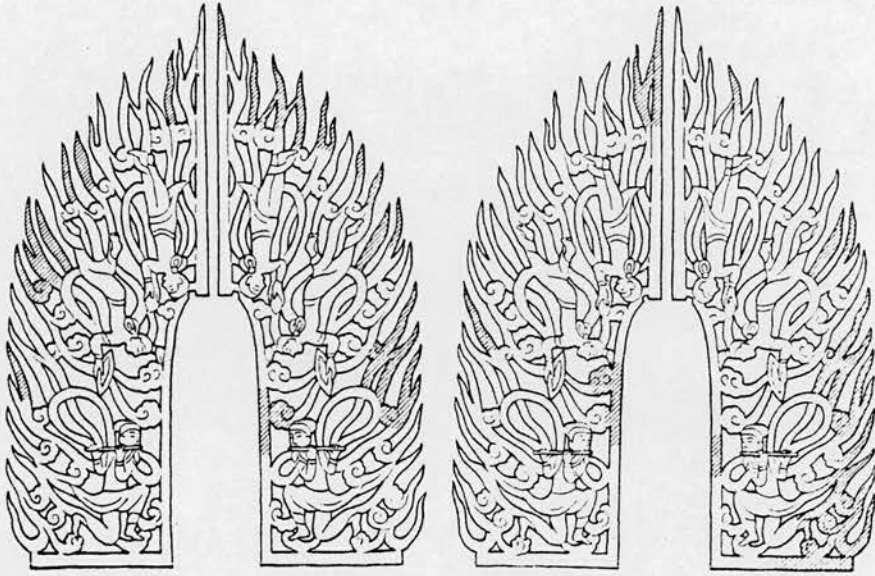
Fig.117 The Suien of Yakushi-ji



23 薬師寺東塔の水煙

(a)

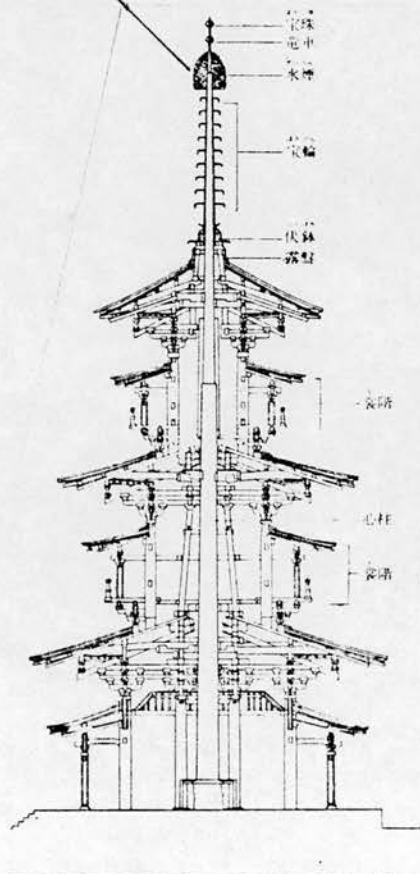
(N.R.T.K., 1970 ©, p.149)



15 東塔水煙修理部分図 (斜線の箇所)

(b)

(N.R.T.K., 1970 (b), F.15)



東塔断面図 (奈良)

(c)

(N.R.T.K., 1970 (b), p.149)

the wall drawings or bronze work seems to be another indication of a close relationship between music and the Japanese Buddhist temples of the seventh and eighth centuries.

6.6 Todai-ji.

When Emperor Shomu gave orders for the building of Todai-ji in 743, he made it clear that it was to house the Great Buddha (Aoki, 1965, p.351). A striking peculiarity of this temple lies in that the central monument was the colossal Buddha which rose to a height of 16m (see Fig. 119), and that the temple buildings were of secondary importance: the Kondo was nothing but a depository for the statue of Buddha, which is the biggest bronze in the world. This would present a great contrast to the earlier symbolic temples typified by the Second Horyu-ji, where the temple building complex itself was a monument.

The primacy of the Buddha statue can be seen in the disproportionately great emphasis laid on it in the process of the construction of Todai-ji. In the first place, while the completion of the Buddha and the Kondo was celebrated with a historically well-known ceremony held in 752 on a scale of unusual grandeur, the other temple buildings were built much later. In 753 the west pagoda was constructed as a repository for the Konkomyo-saisho-o sutra, but the east pagoda had not been completed before 764 (Fukuyama, 1974, p.83). The completion of



Fig.119 The statue of Buddha of Todai-ji
(N.R.T.K.,1972,p.73)

buildings such as the Lecture Hall, the refectory and the dormitory was further delayed perhaps until the beginning of the ninth century (ibid, p.83).

Secondly, it should be noted that far more voluntary labour service was given to the construction of the Buddha than that of the Kondo. As mentioned before (6.1), Shomu stressed in his edict ordering the building of Todai-ji the importance of voluntary co-operation of the public, especially of farmers. The emperor said:

"I appeal for voluntary contributors for this venture with whom I would like to invite heavenly peace to the earth and to share the divine favour of Buddha. Although it would be easier to carry out the task by exercising my power as emperor and spending the nation's wealth, I would lose my peace of mind if I took such measures. If I try to force people to co-operate in this undertaking, there will be complaints and misconduct, which I do not think would be compatible with the intention of Buddha. Therefore those who would like to offer contributions should bear in mind that this is their own task. Any contribution, even it is as small as a handful of soil, shall be accepted. The local administrators shall neither compel service from farmers nor impose extra taxes on the pretext of this venture". (Aoki, 1965, p.351)

As far as historical accounts are concerned, it looks as though both the statue of the Buddha and Kondo were completed solely by means of voluntary service and contributions. Historians (e.g. Aoki, 1965, p.354) throw doubts on the extent to which Shomu's ideal policy was executed, considering the likelihood of official documents omitting facts contradictory to the emperor's edict. However, we would have to accept that the

construction of the Buddha and the Kondo owed at least something to voluntary labour. According to the Chronicle of Todai-ji, the breakdown of the total number of workers involved in the construction was as follows:

TABLE VI. THE BREAKDOWN OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WORKERS INVOLVED IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE BUDDHA AND KONDO OF TODAI-JI (based on Aoki, 1965, pp. 352-3).

	voluntary workers	paid workers [*]
construction of Buddha	372,075	514,902
construction of Kondo	51,590	1,665,071

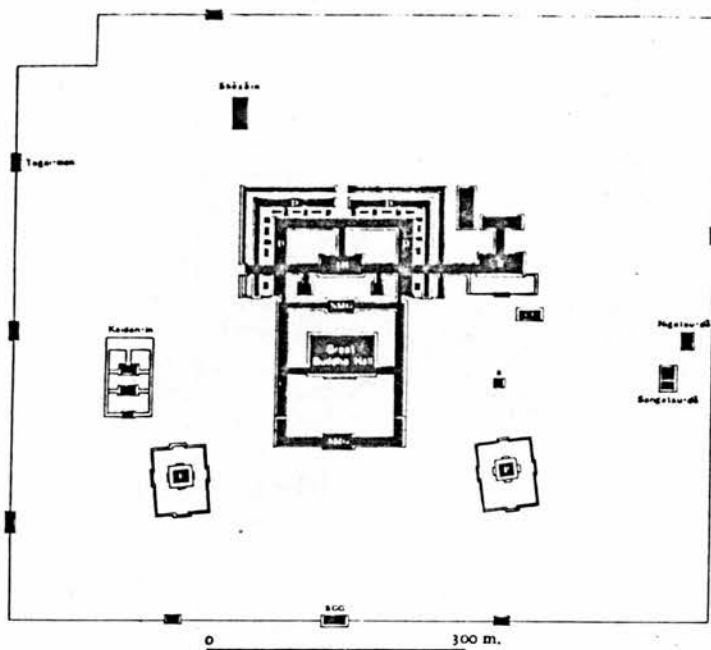
* The wages of these workers are claimed to have been paid from donations.

The volunteers who joined in the construction of the Buddha were approximately seven times as many as those who participated in the building of the Kondo.

Another indication of the importance attached to the Buddha is that the emperor paid at least four visits to the site at different stages of the casting of the statue. At each visit the emperor himself took part in the work or held a ceremony (Aoki, 1965, p.352, p.354, pp. 359-360).

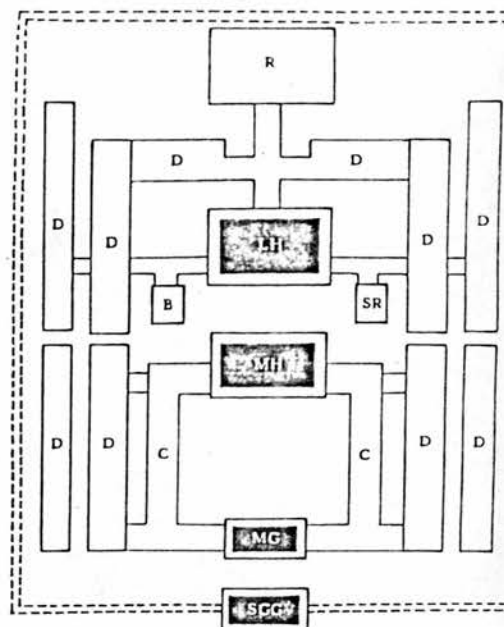
Although the scale of the temple was remarkably extended, there was no innovatory feature in the Todai-ji plan (see Fig. 120) compared with those of two preceding temples, Daian-ji and Kofuku-ji (see Figs. 121 & 122): the only difference with these temples is that the cloister also enclosed the back yard of the Kondo at Todai-ji. A significant development, however, had occurred since the building of Yakushi-ji. The double pagodas were moved outside the cloister while the Kondo and the Middle Gate were joined by a cloister. This Daian-ji style plan was adopted not only by the Provincial Temples of the eighth century but also by many temples built in the later capital of Heian-kyo (Kyoto) by the end of the twelfth century. The disposition of buildings in this style must have been best fitted to fulfil the basic function required of the temple of these periods, i.e. to provide a space for ceremonies.¹⁴

14. Inoue ⑥ also points out (1969, p.98) that a similar disposition of buildings can be found in the part of the Heian-kyo palace complex, used for ceremonies and receptions.



Plan of Todai-ji, in Nara city, as it was built in the eighth century

Fig.120 Plan of Todai-ji
(Kidder,1972,F.50)

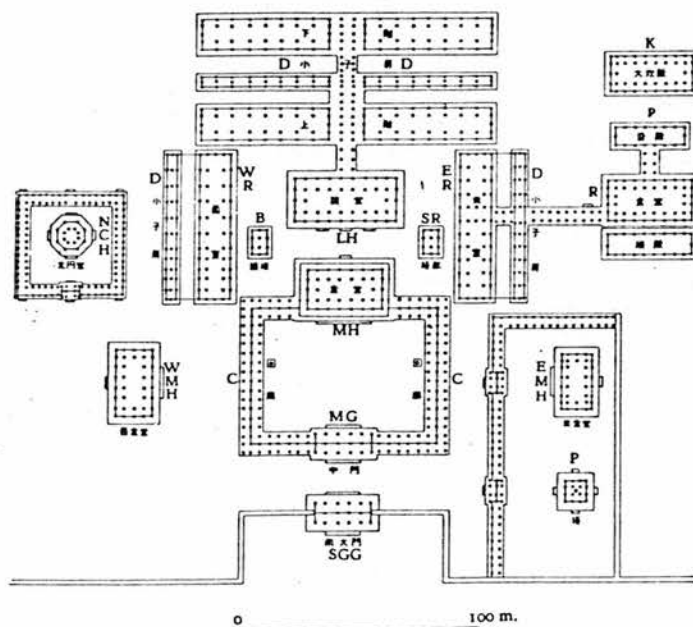


Plan of Daian-ji, at Daianji-chō, Nara city. After 718



0 100 m.

Fig.121 Plan of Daian-ji
(Kidder,1972,F.48)



Plan of Kōfuku-ji, in Tōdaiji-chō, Nara city. Middle of the eighth century

Fig.122 Plan of Kofuku-ji
(Kidder,1972,F.51)

The cloister of Todai-ji, which measured 88m long by 125m broad, would defy comparison with any other temple in size (see, for example, Fig. 123). The Shoku Nihongi records that more than ten thousand monks attended the dedication ceremony of 752. It is also clear from the account of this ceremony that the huge cloister was intended to house a temporary stage (Aoki, 1965, pp.364-5). Judging from the fact that the Chronicle of Kofuku-ji also referred to a stage set in the courtyard in the ceremony (Inoue, (b) 1969, p.92), we may assume that it became customary to use a temporary stage as a central focus of the ceremony from the time of Todai-ji at the latest. Although neither the Chronicle of Todai-ji nor the Shoku Nihongi mention the exact location of the participants of the ceremony other than those of the emperor and high officials, if we also refer to the account of the Chronicle of Kofuku-ji for further information, we can reconstruct the following rough seating plan of the ceremony (see Fig. 124).

Fig.123

Reconstruction
of the
original
Todai-ji.

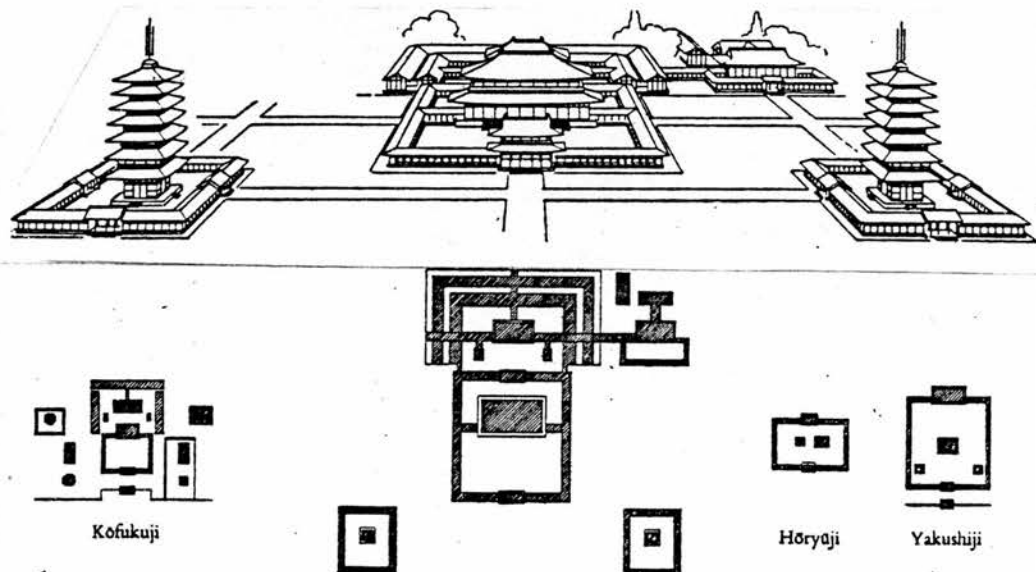
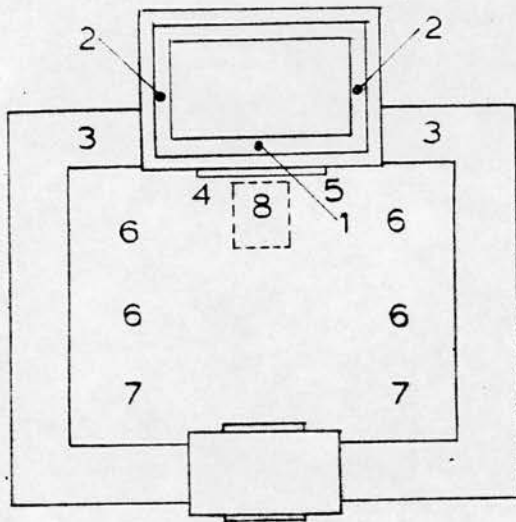


Figure 4. Tōdaiji: Reconstruction of original nucleus: (A) General plan; (B) Block plan for scale comparison with other monasteries

(Soper, 1955, p.181)



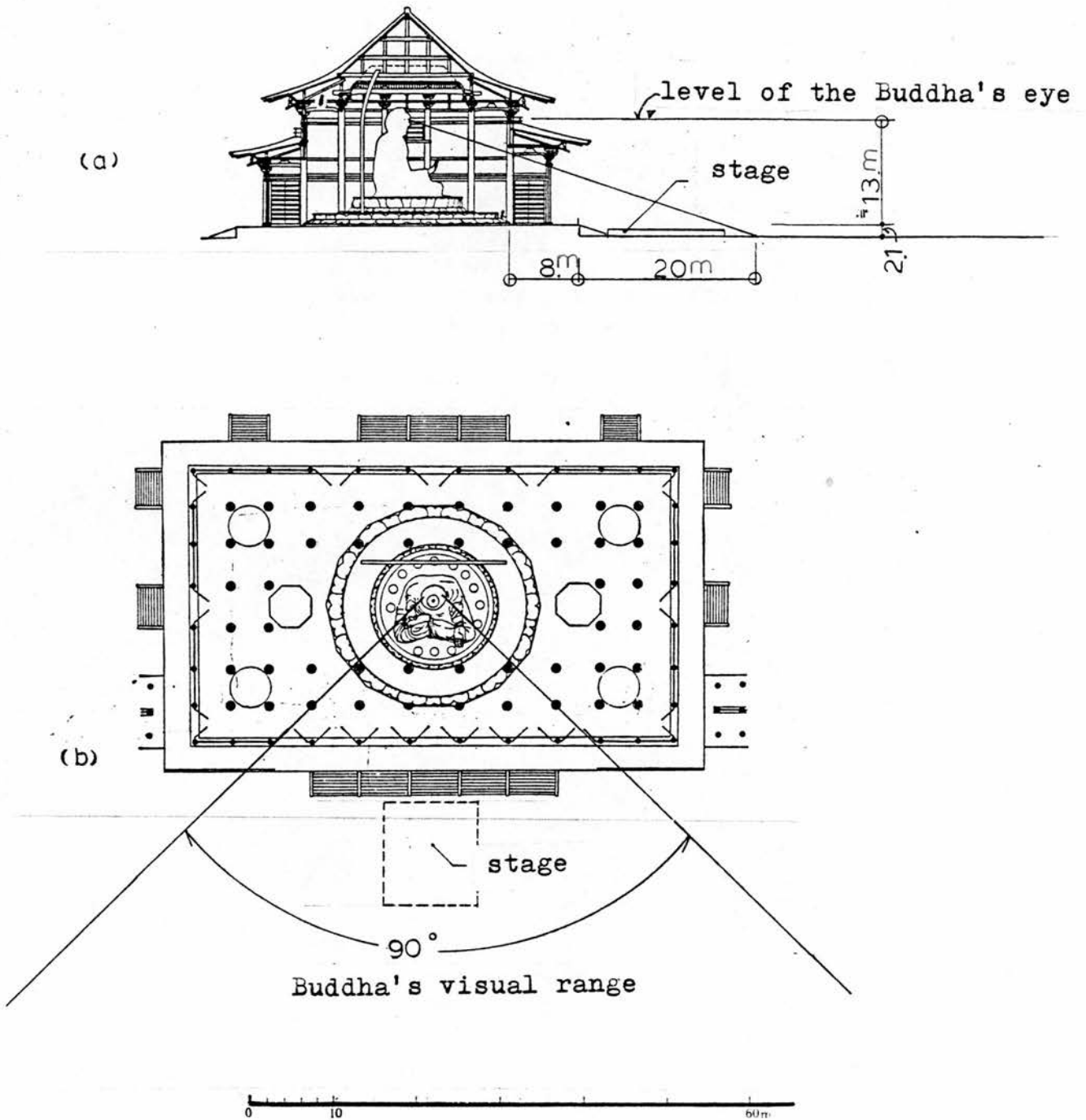
Fig. 124. THE SUPPOSED SEATING PLAN OF THE CEREMONY HELD AT TODAI-JI IN 752 (based on Inoue (b), 1969, Fig. III-I)



- (1) the emperor & royal family
- (2) high officials
- (3) officials
- (4) chief priest
- (5) leading priest of sutra-chanting
- (6) monks
- (7) musicians
- (8) dancers

Not only was the temporary stage used for dancing but it was also the spot where the procession of monks, musicians and dancers passed on entering and leaving the courtyard (Inoue, (b) 1969, p.97). According to Fukuyama (1974, p.81), the penthouse of the Todai-ji Kondo was attached higher at the front than at the rear, and we suppose that this arrangement was due to the consideration of keeping the whole stage within the Buddha's visual range. The point where an extension of the line connecting the Buddha's eyes and the top of the door intersects with the ground level is approximately 20m from the steps leading into the Kondo (see Fig. 125).

Fig.125 The possible location of the temporary stage at Todai-ji



1.85 図 東大寺大仏殿復原図

(a) Section of the Todai-ji Kondo

(b) Plan of the Todai-ji Kondo

(Ota et al, 1974, F.1-85)

The stage must have been placed between this point and the Kondo. The exact size of the stage used in Todai-ji is not known, but it would not have differed much from that in Kofuku-ji, which measured 14.5m long by 11.5m broad (Inoue, ⑥, 1969, p.92).

In the Four Great Temples of Heijo-kyo the height of the principal image of Buddha at the centre of the Kondo remained less than 2m, and therefore, even though all the front doors were open, the statue would have been invisible to the participants of the ceremony: one would have had to enter the Kondo to see the chief icon of the temple. At Todai-ji, however, with all the seven double-leaf doors of the Kondo being opened and with the higher penthouse at the front, the majority of the attendants of the ceremony would have been able to see the colossal Buddha coated with gold. It should be noted here that the Buddha of Todai-ji was Birushana Buddha. Birushana Buddha, which must still have been unfamiliar to most of the Japanese Buddhists at that time, was different in nature from the chief icons of the temples before Todai-ji: unlike Shaka or other Buddhas who had had a life on earth, Birushana Buddha was believed to be the permanent resident and ruler of Heaven (Aoki, 1965, p.347).

On the stage, performances of various kinds of dances were given (ibid, pp.364-365), and it would not be unreasonable to assume that with the Birushana

Buddha rising in the Kondo the emperor attempted to produce 'temporary' Heaven on the stage.¹⁵ At Todai-ji the theatrical element of the ceremony came to be greatly emphasised to the extent that the massive bronze of the Buddha and the temporary stage set in the courtyard played a crucial part in the ceremony instigated by the emperor. This would have marked a further development from the period when the Four Great Temples of Heijo-kyo were constructed. The main part of Todai-ji was built for use on only infrequent occasions - occasions which clearly required enormous forces of musicians and dancers - and required a theatre where human dancers represented the divine figures in Heaven.

Historians (e.g. Aoki, 1965, p.346) suggest several reasons for the construction of Todai-ji. The idea of making a colossal Buddha possibly came from China, where there were many examples of building a gigantic stone Buddha. The choice of Birushana Buddha is perhaps attributable to Emperor Shomu's devotion to the theory of the Avatamsaka Sutra, which is related to this particular Buddha. The more important motive, however, could have been its 'spiritual' effect on the maintenance

15. In fact, the Eiga Monogatari, a document with regard to the history of the Fujiwara family, which dates from the beginning of the 11th century says, 'it was as if Heaven were created on the stage' in the description of the Buddhist ceremony held in 980 (Hayashiya, 1970, p.250).

of public peace and order. Not a few critics (e.g. Soper, 1955, p.178) are inclined to look upon Todai-ji as the most ambitious and self-assertive project of the emperor or as a unique symbol of the unity of the nation under the Imperial will. However, if we consider the political and social situation of the period when the emperor ordered the construction of Todai-ji, as well as of the Provincial Temples (see 6.1), we cannot see Todai-ji simply as a boastful display of the Imperial power, rather its almost pathological gigantism appears to have been a reversed expression of the emperor's uncertainty and lack of confidence.

It is clear that Shomu was not an active type of absolute monarch, as were Tenchi and Temmu, who established Imperial systems exhibiting their excellent political ability. Shomu's indecisiveness and poor leadership are typically shown in the fact that he moved the capital three times in ten years, depressed by the rebellion of one of the high officials (see 6.1). History tells us that once the emperor even asked for advice not only of the officials and monks but also of the ordinary people picked up on the street as to whether to move the capital from Kuni to Naniwa (Aoki, 1965, pp.329-37). The climax of the Imperial systems reached at Nara in the eighth century at least set a standard for living in the grand manner that the previous emperors had never

equalled, but the frequent moving of the capital and the construction of Todai-ji¹⁶ led the Government to face a financial crisis (ibid, p.446). In 743, five months before issuing the order to build Todai-ji, the emperor approved of the aristocracy's private ownership of land, which was obviously against the basic principles of the Taika Reform (see 5.1) and gradually weakened the central control of the Imperial Government.

The ultimate stage in the idea of the Shitenno-ji style temple may be observed at Todai-ji¹⁷ with its monstrous Buddha, the last word in defensive power. At the very moment, however, of its most grandiose expression, the Imperial power was beginning to collapse.

6.7 Conclusions.

In this chapter we have considered the development of the temples from Kawahara-dera to Todai-ji, which seem to have been built to meet a new requirement of the period. After the Taika Reform (645) the Buddhist temples started to be used frequently for national ceremonies, and we speculated from the following reasons that Kawahara-dera was the earliest

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16. The emperor conferred a title or permission to become monks on many voluntary contributors to the construction. As designated people received annually a certain allowance from the Government, while monks and nuns were exempted from taxes, this resulted in a tremendous decrease in the Imperial revenues. (Aoki, 1965, p.446).
 17. Todai-ji also had the statues of the Shitenno (Kidder, 1972, p.116).

temple to be designed to hold ceremonies inside the cloister:

- (1) Apart from Asuka-dera built in 588, it was the oldest of the Four Great Temples of Fujiwara-kyo, which had high prestige and importance as Court-supported temples as well as being the main locations of national ceremonies.
- (2) It is the first temple on record that had its own orchestra.
- (3) It had a considerably larger open space in the centre of the cloister than had had previous temples.
- (4) The distance between the South Gate and the Middle Gate became much shorter in Kawahara-dera than in the earlier temples, and it does not seem that there was any space usable for ceremonies outside the temple.
- (5) The position of the doors of the buildings inside the cloister appears to have centred around the 'court-yard'.
- (6) The front of the Middle Kondo was given emphasis with three doors and a colonnaded veranda, which is likely to have been used as the Imperial stand.

Although the visual effect of the temple appears to have been sacrificed, to a certain extent, for the priority given to practicality, Yakushi-ji typified a stage of compromise between the formal and functional requirements. In Yakushi-ji the pagoda became double, which enabled the architects to re-introduce the principle of symmetry. At the same time, the

pagodas were pulled out to the corners; affording a roomy forecourt and giving supreme prominence to the Kondo at the centre of the cloister. The main features of Kawahara-dera were taken over and further developed in the post-Horyu-ji temples. Firstly, the size of the 'courtyard' was increasingly extended at the expense of the pagoda. Secondly, greater emphasis was given to the front of the Kondo: while there were three front doors in the Kawahara-dera Middle Kondo, these became five in Yakushi-ji and finally seven in Todai-ji. Accordingly, the veranda became larger and higher from the ground to make a marked hierarchical division, and at Todai-ji the emperor and members of the royal family as well as high officials occupied the space inside the Kondo on ceremonial occasions.

We have noted that the formal change of temple design, the beginning of which can be observed in Kawahara-dera, mirrored the changing function allotted to the temples. While Asuka-dera, Shitenno-ji style temples and the Second Horyu-ji were essentially symbolic national monuments to be looked at from outside, the post-Horyu-ji temples were intended to accommodate elaborate ceremonies. The courtyard of the temple came to be open to the participants of the ceremonies and the exclusiveness of the inner cloister observed in the earlier temples diminished.

With the spread of Buddhism the construction of impressive temple buildings came to be insufficient

for the emperor to enhance his prestige and gain public admiration. In order to maintain the order and stability of a strictly hierarchical society¹⁸ the emperor sought a unifying force in ceremonies and music. Although emperors could no longer ignore the philosophy of Buddhism, and Shomu even made the first example in Japanese history of an emperor becoming a monk, the role that Buddhism played in the seventh and eighth centuries was highly political. It was used as a rationale to justify the Imperial systems. In fact, many Buddhist monks were dispatched to the Tohoku and Kyushu regions to help to bring unconquered tribes under the subjection of the Imperial Government (Aoki, 1965, p.128). It is also notable that when the Government finally approved of Gyogi's religious movement (see 6.1), they tightened the internal defence policy at the same time by sending several directors of the Imperial Security Bureau to the provinces to exercise strict control over the discontented local nobles. (Aoki, 1965, pp.305-6).

In contrast with the Continental temples where the Kondo had the Nai-jin, inner chapels for worshippers (see 5.5) from the beginning, Japanese Buddhist temples had to go through two stages until

18. e.g. In 693 a law was enforced to mark one's social status by wearing clothes of a specified colour. This was mainly applied to farmers and slaves (Naoki, 1965, p.414).

they accepted worshippers inside the temple building. In the final analysis, the post-Horyu-ji temples seem to represent a transition stage in the development of the temple from a symbolic national monument to a place for worship of Buddha, a Buddhist temple in its real sense. Another three centuries had to pass before the worshippers were admitted to the Kondo of Japanese temples.

CHAPTER 7 .

CONCLUSIONS

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7.1 Development of early Japanese Buddhism

In the first chapter we set out the two main purposes of this thesis. The primary aim has been to trace the development of the early Japanese state temples, namely to explain the changes that occurred in the design of the major Court-supported temples during the period between the end of the sixth century and the middle of the eighth century. The second aim was to analyse the uniquely Japanese features observed in these temples, most of which show considerable influence of Continental Buddhist architectural forms. The two objectives were closely related to each other, and, in fact, the second question derived from the first. In order to find the underlying reasons for the change in temple plans, we first needed to understand the particular nature of Japanese Buddhism and Buddhist temples at their early stage of development. Before we draw the final conclusions, it will be useful to offer in this section a brief summary of the development of early Japanese Buddhism.

The basic nature of Japanese Buddhism in the Asuka-Nara era can be summed up as a rationale to justify the Imperial system. Buddhism seems to have been adopted by the Japanese emperors of the sixth and seventh centuries not as a religion in its strict sense but as a political ideology. Buddhism was not the issue concerned with values or spiritual and moral life of the individual, but it was rather a sign of the most advanced culture then known in Asia. The decision made by the Imperial Court in 594 to accept Buddhism as a national religion was an expression of its positive intention to introduce and assimilate the Continental legal, political and cultural systems. Externally, Buddhism endowed the emperor with an aura of national importance and dignity, a property deemed essential by the Japanese in their wish to raise their international status to an ultimate position that would give the appearance of nominal parity with China. Internally, Buddhism was employed to emphasise the supremacy of the Imperial Court as the importer and possessor of the most highly developed technological and artistic skills in Asia at the time, in contrast with the local lords who confined themselves to the old traditional ways and customs of a tribal society.

In the same manner as the Yamato clan chose the sun as their tutelary deity and derived their ruling power from heaven in the process of integrating

other tribes under their control during the period from the third to fourth centuries, the Imperial Court at the end of the sixth century imported Buddhism, a much more sophisticated religion than the Northern Altaic shamanism, to establish a sense of Japanese nationhood. If we recall that the Yamato clan did not fail to pay reverence to the earth god of every region they conquered (see 2.2), it would seem natural that the Imperial Court did not abandon Shinto practices even after Buddhism was secure.

As typically seen in the religious policy of Empress Suiko (592-628)¹ and Emperor Temmu (673-86), when Buddhism was especially encouraged by the Imperial government, Shintoism also received equal patronage. It is very important to note that after the battle of 587 (see 3.1) Shintoism was not in conflict with Buddhism, but rather both religions complemented each other as an instrument to control people and maintain the equilibrium of a highly hierarchical social structure. As Kidder (1972, p.158) points out, while the accoutrements of Buddhism nourished aristocratic

1. After having established Buddhism as a national religion in 594, Suiko issued an edict in 607 that the worship of the Shinto gods should not be neglected (see 3.5). Temmu also ordered the repair and remodelling work of the main Shinto shrines throughout the country in 683 while giving instruction to build Yakushi-ji and rebuild Daian-ji (see 6.1).

vanities and the temples became prestige symbols, Shinto beliefs and ceremonies had both a levelling and unifying effect on the social strata and were a common meeting ground for larger communities. Shinto, which evolved out of the animistic beliefs and habits of agricultural tribes, had fixed the natural rhythms in a ritual pattern of balance and harmony between man and his environment at whatever level of social grouping, from nation to village.

It was a natural consequence, therefore, that during the period from the middle of the seventh to the end of the eleventh century, when Buddhism developed into a popular religion, Shintoism began to be intermingled with Buddhism. Possibly the earliest record which indicates this tendency is that of the Imperial government offering the Konkomyo-saisho-o sutra and the three-storeyed pagoda to the Usa-Hachiman Shrine in 740, when Hirotsugu Fujiwara raised a rebellion (Aoki, 1965, pp.487-88). During the eleventh century the Busshari, the Buddhist relics (see 3.4), were frequently donated to the major Shinto shrines in the country (Kodama et al., 1971, p.9).

It was a constant policy of the Imperial government from the seventh to the eighth century to keep Buddhism under their control. In 624 Empress Suiko first set up three official posts, Sojo (僧正), Sozu (僧都) and Hozu (法頭), to exercise

supervision over Buddhist monks (see 3.5). When the Taika Reform was carried out in 645 the new government also created similar posts to supervise monks and to control Buddhist temples (see 5.1). Around this time, although the government appointed a Buddhist priest to the Sojo, the top-ranking post, they often nominated laymen to the other two positions. It was under the reign of Emperor Temmu that all the three posts to supervise monks came to be occupied by Buddhist priests (see 6.1). It should be noted, however, that throughout this period the appointive power of these supervisory posts rested with the emperor all the time. The life and activities of monks and nuns were strictly disciplined and controlled according to the Soni-ryo (regulations for Buddhist monks and nuns), which was included in the Taiho Civil and Penal Codes of 701.

We discussed in Chapter 4 that as the Japanese adopted Buddhism as a guardian religion of the Imperial system from an early stage, the notion of defence was particularly stressed through the encouragement of the Konkomyo-saisho-o sutra ('realm protecting' sutra) and worship of the Shitenno, the Four Heavenly Guardians of Buddhism. We have also argued that the pattern of a four-gated Buddhist mandala had considerable influence on the design of the Shitenno-ji style temples and the Second Horyu-ji.

Eventually, not only the Shitenno, which were frequently represented in the mandala as the 'custodians' of the four gates, but also the temple building itself came to be regarded as a symbolic defence 'gate' which would act as a spiritual fortress of the Imperial system against any threat from inside and outside the nation. As a consequence, when the capital was constructed in Fujiwara-kyo in 694 and in Heijo-kyo in 710, in each case special importance was attached to the four specific temples, and they were called 'Four Great Temples of the capital' (see 4.5). In the eighth century it became customary for the emperor to order the temples to make statues of the Shitenno and give recitals of the Konkomyo-saisho-o sutra on emergency occasions, and we have noted that the construction of Provincial Temples and the Todai-ji was a genuine reflection of the political crisis facing the Imperial government at that time.

It is at the end of the seventh century, almost a century after its being officially accepted by the Imperial government, that Buddhism appears to have begun to infiltrate into people's minds and affect their ways of life. Emperor Temmu encouraged Buddhism as well as Shintoism to emphasise the spiritual bond between the nation and the people. His edict of 685, ordering every household in all the

provinces to make a family Buddhist altar and to worship Buddha, was a clear indication of the Imperial efforts to spread Buddhism to the common people (see 6.1). The cremation of priest Dosho in 700 officially marked the beginning of the practice (see 3.5). Although until this time all burial ceremonies for emperors had also continued to follow Shinto rites, Empress Jito was cremated in 704. Cremation spread through the upper classes after it was sanctioned by royal adoption, then proceeded down the social ladder (Kidder, 1972, p.136).

In the eighth century, although the role of Buddhism was still highly political, the theories of various sects, as well as Buddhist philosophy in general, came to receive more attention and interest from the political rulers than before. The government's eventual approval of Gyogi, the Buddhist monk who, violating the Soni-ryo, started to preach in the street and involved himself in various social activities, clearly indicates that Buddhism came to be treated as a religion in the proper sense of the word. The magnificent appearance of the temple building alone was no longer sufficient to impress the public and enhance Imperial prestige. Under Emperor Shomu the Imperial power appeared to have reached its peak, and the emperor, following the principle of Temmu, sought a unifying force of society in large-scale Buddhist

ceremonies, which were held inside the temple cloister.

7.2 Overall view of the development of the temples of the Asuka-Nara era.

From our analysis of the plans of the nine major state temples of the Asuka-Nara era (see 6.3), we have concluded that there were two stages of development. The first stage was represented by Asuka-dera, Shitenno-ji style temples and the Second Horyu-ji, built during the period from the end of the sixth to the end of the seventh century, while the beginning of the second stage was marked by Kawahara-dera constructed in the middle of the seventh century, which was followed by Yakushi-ji, Ganko-ji and Daian-ji style temples. We have argued that at the first stage the temples were designed essentially as symbolic monuments to be looked at from the outside, and that in such temples primary importance was given to the external appearance of the building. The main characteristic features of these temples can be summarised as follows:

- (1) The inside of the cloister was treated as a secluded sanctuary. Even the resident monks, let alone the common people, do not seem to have been normally allowed to go further than the South Gate (see 5.2). The account of the Nihon Shoki with regard to the

Court events at Asuka-dera (see 3.3)² and the architectural details of the Second Horyu-ji Kondo (see 5.5) seem to suggest that the inner space of these early temples was used only by the emperor and a limited number of the royal family members for private purposes.

- (2) The distance between the South Gate and the Middle Gate was relatively long. As the main emphasis was given to the external effect in these temples, the viewpoint, i.e. the South Gate (the Ishijiki-hiroba in the case of Asuka-dera) had to be set far enough from the temple's nucleus to enhance its external view (see 6.3).
- (3) The pagoda was the central monument of the temple and played an important role in enhancing its visual effect. The pagodas of these temples stood independent from the other buildings and had a self-contained external design. Apart from the case of Asuka-dera, the exterior of the pagoda was completely symmetrical as it had four entrances precisely at the centre of each side. Although the Second Horyu-ji pagoda appears to have been designed for the reception of a limited number of people as in

2. The Nihon Shoki records that in 642 Soga-no-Iruka, the then highest ranking minister, held a private Buddhist ceremony in the south part of the courtyard (see Table I). Considering, however, that Asuka-dera was a family temple of the Sogas and also that Soga-no-Iruka often went beyond his authority in defiance of the Imperial House (see 1.3), we cannot assume that the high-ranking ministers were normally admitted inside the Shitenno-ji style temples and the Second Horyu-ji.

the case of the Kondo (see 5.6), in Asuka-dera and Shitenno-ji style temples the pagoda seem to have been an absolutely inaccessible sanctuary. In comparison with the post-Horyu-ji pagoda, the pagodas of the earlier temples had a substantial nature and gave a stable and weighty impression (see 5.6).

The study of Asuka-dera, the first full-scale Japanese Buddhist temple, showed us most clearly that the earliest Buddhist temples were required to fulfil those political and social functions of the old Imperial Shinto monuments. This was typically observed in the unique features of the pagoda and the use of space on formal occasions. Both the Satchu, the central pole unique to the structure of the Japanese pagoda and the secular objects unearthed from the site of the pagoda, seemed to indicate that the Asuka-dera pagoda was a symbol of Imperial power rather than a monument dedicated solely to Buddha (see 3.4). We have also discovered that when the temple was used for national ceremonies it was used in a similar manner to the way the Ise Shrine or the Daijo-kyu had been used; there was a strict division of space so as to emphasise the supremacy of the emperor over the other participants (see 3.3 and 7.5).

The Shitenno-ji style temples, which began to be constructed shortly after Asuka-dera, were the

earliest temples in Japan representing the concept of national defence. It seems that in order to give expression to the idea of defence in the architectural style, the design of a four-gated Buddhist mandala was adopted. The influence of the mandalas with four T-shape gates at each cardinal point could also be observed in the design of the Second Horyu-ji. We have observed that there were the same divisions of space as in the mandala, in the Second Horyu-ji pagoda and Kondo, both of which also had four entrances at each cardinal point. As it is believed that there were no significant differences in the design of each constituent building between the Second Horyu-ji and the Shitenno-ji style temple (see 4.1), we assumed that the design of the four-gated mandala had the same influence on the plans of the pagoda and Kondo of the Shitenno-ji style temples as on the Second Horyu-ji.

We have also noticed that the design of the T-shape gates of the mandala received some modification in Japan and that a special ratio ($\sqrt{2}:1$) was applied to the two sides of the four gates (see 4.5). The employment of this ratio was observed not only in the two neighbouring sides of each of the four entrances of the pagoda and Kondo, but also in the two sides of the cloister. We have suggested that this particular ratio derived from the bon-sen (the immaculate line), a line which purifies and cleanses, represented in the

Japanese mandala. The notion of defence seemed to have been further stressed by placing this 'immaculate line' in a position on the periphery of the temple (cloister) or at the entrance of the individual building (pagoda and Kondo) to act as a symbolic line preventing impure and corrupting elements from entering.

The Second Horyu-ji was the most refined and complete example of Buddhist temples which were developed in the first stage as symbolic monuments. While in Asuka-dera and Shitenno-ji style temples the plan was frontally symmetrical, in the Second Horyu-ji emphasis was laid on the three-dimensional harmony of the temple buildings rather than on frontal symmetry. As the sloping site was especially chosen to provide a panoramic setting for the temple buildings, which were carefully disposed to produce a depth of perspective, not only the pagoda but the temple complex as a whole came into the view of the external observer.

Although in many ways the Second Horyu-ji seemed to be akin to the Shitenno-ji style temples, it also bore a sign of transition from them. This was typically seen in the greater prominence given to the Kondo. Not only did the Kondo come to occupy the forecourt of the temple alongside the pagoda, but it also received most careful and elaborate treatment both inside and outside (see 5.5). Inside, the walls

were covered with the most splendid frescoes in Japanese art history, and the inner space seemed to have been arranged to highlight these wall paintings rather than the statues of the Buddha. Outside, the unique four-door enclosed veranda was attached to improve the external view. The pagoda, as well as the Kondo, appeared to have been designed for the reception of a limited number of visitors, and thus, the exclusive nature of the pagoda of the earlier temples was diminished to a certain extent.

After the Second Horyu-ji, the temple plans showed a drastic change, and we have found that this change in form was due to the change in the function that the temple was required to fulfil. The temple came to be designed to provide a location for elaborate ceremonies, which would clearly mark a new stage in the development of the early Japanese Buddhist temples. The space chosen for the ceremony was, however, not the interior of the temple building but the courtyard. The study of physical details and circumstantial documentation has led us to argue that the earliest temple designed to hold national ceremonies inside the cloister was, in fact, Kawahara-dera, which was built before the Second Horyu-ji.

It was not the case, therefore, that the change in the function of the temple occurred abruptly during the short period between the construction of the Second

Horyu-ji and Yakushi-ji. We have seen, however, that in Kawahara-dera attempts were made to affect a compromise between the new and old requirements of the temple, which led to its being not entirely successful (see 6.4). For example, the attempt to keep the ratio of the two sides of the cloister as close as possible to the symbolic ratio ($\sqrt{2}:1$) destroyed the visual balance between the temple buildings while providing insufficient space in the courtyard for ceremonies of a large scale. It was not until Yakushi-ji that the visual and pragmatic functions of the temple were fused successfully.

The distinctive features shared by the temples representing the second stage of development can be summed up in the following four points:

- (1) They had a much larger 'courtyard' than the earlier temples. We considered the rectangular space between the Kondo and the Middle Gate to be the space which is most likely to have been used for ceremonies inside the cloister, and referred to this particular space as the 'courtyard' (see 6.3). The size of the 'courtyard' was increasingly extended at the expense of the pagoda. Thus, the pagoda, which was the central monument of the temple at the initial stage, came to be a mere accessory (see 5.6). While in Yakushi-ji the pagoda became double and pulled out to the corners, in Daian-ji style temples they were removed well ahead of the Middle Gate.

- (2) The Kondo was the central building of the temple and greater emphasis was given to its frontage. While in the Shitenno-ji style temple and the Second Horyu-ji the Kondo had four entrances at each cardinal point, the Kondo of the temples of the second stage had only two entrances, one each at the south and north sides. The south side (front) had more doors than the north side, and is likely to have been used as the Imperial stand on ceremonial occasions (see also 7.5).
- (3) The exclusiveness of the inner cloister diminished as the courtyard of the temple became open to the participants of the ceremony.
- (4) The distance between the Middle Gate and the South Gate became shorter, and both gates became nothing but passing points for the attendants of the ceremony (see 6.3).

In the previous section we reviewed the political and social factors that seem to have brought about a change in the function of the state temple. It seems that by the end of the seventh century the construction of impressive temple buildings by itself was no longer sufficient as a means for the emperor to control the country and that he sought a levelling and unifying effect on the social strata by introducing the elaborate and theatrical ceremonies, which were produced inside the cloister.

It will readily be understood that the design of the Second Horyu-ji, in which the architects' consideration was focussed entirely on the visual effect of the temple, and that of Kawahara-dera, which marked a turning point from the temple to be looked at, to the temple to accommodate ceremonies, were both unique to Japan (see 1.2). At the initial stage, when Asuka-dera and the Shitenno-ji style temples were constructed, the Japanese adopted Continental temple forms for **their** uniquely Japanese use, as symbolic monuments to be **looked at** from a distance. However, from the middle to the end of the seventh century, owing to the progress made in architectural knowledge and craftsmanship, the Japanese reached a stage when they could create a temple style which met their own requirements most satisfactorily - the Second Horyu-ji.

At the same time efforts began to be made to devise a temple design which would also serve a new function allotted to the temple; hence the construction of Kawahara-dera. Although the fusion of the visual and pragmatic functions was not achieved with complete success in Kawahara-dera, the introduction of the early Tang style with a pair of pagodas solved this problem. While early preference for symmetry was re-introduced, modification was made to the original plan in order to create more space between the Kondo and the Middle Gate (c.f. the comparison between Yakushi-ji and Korean

Botoku-ji in 6.5). The Daian-ji style developed out of Yakushi-ji to provide a maximum space in the courtyard. This style, which seems to have been best fitted to accommodate large scale ceremonies, became stable in the eighth century and continued to be widely used until the end of the twelfth century (see 6.6).

7.3 Development of ancient monumental architecture.

Although after the middle of the seventh century the sacrosanct nature of the inner cloister diminished as the space came to be penetrated by a large number of celebrants, it seems that the state temples still functioned more or less as national monuments by the time of the construction of Todai-ji. In this section we shall briefly summarise the development of ancient Japanese monumental architecture and discuss some of its dominant features.

The first object that took on significance as an architectural as well as a symbolic monument in Japanese history is the pillar. We have seen (see 2.4) that perpendicular symbolism played an important role in the politico-mythology of the Yamato. We have also pointed out that an embryonic representation of the symbolism of the pillar could be observed in the sakaki tree, which still retains its significance in Shinto rites in connection with the intercourse between the deities and man. The pillar was originally a religious object, which developed into a temporary

altar (see 2.4), but it also served as the political symbol of the emperor, the deified absolute ruler. Although the symbolic pillar initially stood in isolation and had no structural significance, it came to be incorporated in Shinto architecture as an element of the building. Two typical examples were the shin-no-mihashira (sacred central post) and the munamochi bashira (ridge-supporting post) in the Ise Shrine.

The strong perpendicular emphasis observed in the form of the Ise Shrine also found expression in the Satchu (single central pillar) which was unique to the structure of the Japanese pagoda (see 3.4). It may be the case that the Japanese sought the image of the pillar in the Buddhist pagoda itself. We noted in 3.4 that the earliest Buddhist monument built by the Sogas was a wooden pillar called Satchu. In fact, the Japanese pagoda could be regarded as a sophisticated pillar. The cantilevers and other wooden work, together with a roof attached at every floor, gave a structural framework to the central pillar. We have seen that in the Japanese pagoda the levels higher than the ground floor were not floored and were purely monumental; they existed only to support the roof structure and to enhance external appearance (see 5.6). There is no doubt that the pagoda with its tiled roof, red painted wooden parts and golden spire

would make a far more powerful visual impact on the external observer than the single free-standing pillar.

Another important ancient monument was the mound-tomb, which flourished during the fourth and fifth centuries. The spread of the gigantic tumulus coincided with the expansion of the power of the Yamato clan. A comparison between the Japanese mound of Emperor Nintoku and the Chinese mound of Shi-huang-di (see 2.3) made it clear that the Japanese Imperial mound was essentially symbolic rather than practical, and that the principal concern was for its external effect. In the Japanese mound it was not practical defensive devices but the symbolic moats and pots, placed round the mound, that acted as a deterrent to trespass on the inner space. We have argued that the symbolism of moats and pots derived from the old Shinto belief in the underground nether land, which was regarded as a source of detestable impurity and pollution. The moats and pots seem to have functioned as a marker of the boundary between the world of the living and that of the dead and protected the former from the 'evil' influence of the latter.

The idea of protecting a sanctuary from the 'impurity' of the outside world by means of some kind of barrier was adopted frequently in later

monumental architecture. We have noted that while in the Daijo-kyu two main shrines were surrounded by a brush-wood fence (see 2.8), in the Ise Shrine, wooden fences acted as a quadruple boundary (see 2.1). In Asuka-dera the four-gated outer wall, which was uniquely Japanese, was attached to serve a similar function to render the cloister more inviolate (see 3.2). We have also argued that the specific ratio ($\sqrt{2}:1$), employed on the cloister and on the entrance of the pagoda and Kondo in the Shitenno-ji style temple and the Second Horyu-ji, had a symbolic purificatory significance. In 3.4 we noted that the objects excavated from the site of the Asuka-dera pagoda were indistinguishable from sets of treasure found buried in the late mounded tombs of the emperors. It did not seem to be too farfetched then to assume that the exclusive and sacrosanct nature of the inner cloister of the temples (especially the pagoda) of the earliest stage was inherited from the Imperial mound.

While in Asuka-dera and Shitenno-ji style temples the pagoda was the central monument, in the Second Horyu-ji the building complex of the temple itself became a monument. We may recall that in Asuka-dera the attendants of the ceremony, positioned at the Ishijiki hiroba, could only see the spire of the pagoda (see 3.3). In the Second Horyu-ji, however, the siting of the temple was chosen so as to ensure

that it could be observed as a complete entity from a distant viewpoint.

After the end of the seventh century, although the temple building gradually lost its symbolic significance, a new type of monument appeared - a colossal statue of the Buddha. We have noted (see 6.6) that the main purpose of the construction of Todai-ji was to house the statue of Birushana Buddha. Here the temple buildings became of secondary importance, and the Kondo was nothing but a depository for the statue of the Buddha, which was coated with gold and rose to a height of 16m. On ceremonial occasions at Todai-ji, all the front doors of the Kondo were opened, and it was not until Todai-ji that the principal Buddha image of the temple came into the view of the majority of the celebrants. In the courtyard a temporary stage was set and a spectacular ceremony was produced by the emperor in front of the statue of the Buddha, in the construction of which around 400 thousand voluntary and 500 thousand paid workers had been involved.

7.4 Emphasis on external appearance.

In the previous section we noted that the ancient Imperial mound presented two particular features that suggested preference for the mature monumental architecture of the later periods. We have already discussed the symbolic representation of the boundary of

the sanctuary. Here in this section we shall review another dominant feature - the great emphasis on external appearance.

In 2.3 we saw that the type of mound fully developed by the Yamato conquerors was unique in its ground plan and was called 'circle-and-wedge'. In this plan the total length, the diameter of the circle and the length of the wedge part were clearly proportioned to each other, and the proportion seems to have followed an orderly process of change. We considered this as a piece of evidence indicating that there was a constant interest in the formal appearance of the mound and that detailed design work was involved in its construction.

Although the external appearance was always one of the main preoccupations in the designing of the early Japanese state temples, the most sophisticated examples of architecture in which supreme importance was attached to the external view, are the Ise Shrine and the Second Horyu-ji. We noted in 2.9 that the present form of the Ise main sanctuary building was completed at around the same period as the Second Horyu-ji was constructed. We also found that in these two of Japan's greatest religious buildings a similar technique based on the grid was employed to enhance the external effect.

From our observations it became clear that

the Ise Naiku sanctuary had been designed so that the best front view could be obtained from the gateway of the third fence, which was the place of worship assigned to the official worshipper representing the emperor. Seen from this particular spot, the building itself could be divided horizontally into four parts, each clearly proportioned as (2:1:2:2). Furthermore, the whole structure, which fitted in with a grid based on half of the distance between the pillars, fell within a rectangle, and the ratio of the two sides of the rectangle was ($\sqrt{2}$:1). We have also observed that in order to produce this aesthetic effect, careful consideration was given to the positioning of the chigi, ridge piece and the veranda. A comparison with the main sanctuary of the ninth century Aramatsuri Shrine and the present Mikeden, each representing a different stage in the development of the form of the present Naiku sanctuary, revealed that the external appearance of the Naiku sanctuary had been gradually improved and refined for a long time.

In 2.1 we noted that the buildings of the Ise Shrine were built in the same, Shimmei, style, and that the two main sanctuaries of the Naiku and the Geku were different from the other buildings only in that they had also the veranda and the shin-no-mihashira. At Ise the function of all the buildings was essentially symbolic and the shrine as a whole

could be regarded as a homogeneous entity. On the other hand, the Second Horyu-ji consisted of buildings which had a form and function completely different from each other (e.g. the pagoda, Kondo, Lecture Hall etc.), and therefore the harmony of these buildings was a very important factor in producing the best visual effect. Thus, while in the Ise Shrine the main emphasis was given to the external appearance of the individual building, in the Second Horyu-ji efforts had to be made to hold all the constituent buildings in balance with one another.

As in the case of Ise, the whole complex of the Second Horyu-ji fitted in with a grid, and the vertical division of the grid was based on the span between the pillars of the cloister. The lines and mass of each building were related to each other so that if the spire of the pagoda was excluded the buildings fell within a triangle, while if the spire was included the height of the pagoda was twice the height of the Kondo (see 5.4). In order to enhance the harmonious effect of the whole complex, the internal dimensions of the individual buildings seemed to have been determined by the consideration of their external balance with other buildings. We saw, for example, that the heights between successive eaves of the pagoda, middle gate, and the Kondo were distinctly different. We also suggested that a model must have been constructed in order to

achieve such refinement in external design as displayed in the Ise Shrine and the Second Horyu-ji.

7.5 Spatial representation of hierarchy.

Ancient Japanese monuments were erected primarily to enhance the prestige of the emperor, and their use always reflected the preoccupation of society with rank. Characteristically the supremacy of the emperor was expressed in terms of the space. In this section we shall review the development of the spatial representation of hierarchy in early Japanese monumental architecture.

In 2.2 we noted that in the ancient agricultural age beginning around B.C.300 the Japanese came to conceive and worship gods in terms of the area in which they were believed to be and live. The space symbolising the presence of a god often came to be encircled with some sort of boundary to mark and preserve its sacredness. A rigid distinction was made between the space assigned to a god and the sphere of people's daily life; no access was allowed to the holy space.

The progress in construction skills eventually made it possible to convert the space of a deity, which was marked off and limited in nature, into architectural space. It was in the Daijo-Kyu that we have observed a typical and possibly the earliest expression of the supremacy of the emperor by means of architectural space (see 2.8). The Daijo ceremony was the most

important Shinto ritual to mark the official approval of the status of the emperor who newly came to the throne. In order to express and establish the emperor's superior position to everyone else in the hierarchy, a strict division was made of the space assigned to him and other participants. While ministers and officials were located outside, only the emperor and a few of his entourage entered the main sanctuary. The interior of the main sanctuary was divided into two spaces by the partition, each assigned to the emperor and his ancestral god, and to his attendants respectively. Even the pathways were reserved only for certain participants.

While in Shinto shrines there was usually a division into only two spaces, (the space assigned to a deity and the space for public worship), we noted that uniquely in the Ise Shrine there was a division into three spaces, the additional space being assigned to the emperor (represented by his minister). We also pointed out that particular consideration had been given to the design of the main sanctuary so that the clearly proportioned and best-balanced external view could be obtained from the south gate of the third fence, which was the place of worship for the representative of the emperor.

A similar division of space seemed to have been also made in Asuka-dera (see 3.3), where the

interior of the cloister was normally treated as an inaccessible sanctuary though the space was occasionally used by some members of the royal family and the head of the Sogas (the patron of the temple) for private purposes. On official ceremonial occasions the emperor stood at the South Gate while the officials were positioned at the Ishijiki-hiroba, the stone-paved area to the south of the South Gate.

In the Second Horyu-ji the gate accessible to the common people was the South Gate, through which the emperor (attended by a few of his entourage), and perhaps a limited number of priests, seem to have entered the cloister (see 5.2). Due to the lack of historical records, we do not know how temples such as the Shitenno-ji and the Second Horyu-ji were used on ceremonial occasions, and it is even doubtful as to whether the national ceremonies which involved the emperor and his ministers took place in these temples remote from the capital, during the seventh and eighth centuries. It may have been the case that in Shitenno-ji style temples and in the Second Horyu-ji the superior status of the emperor was emphasised by the fact that he had the right to enter the temple, a sacred precinct. Secluded and mysterious, the interior of the cloister seems to have been treated in a similar manner to the space of the Daijo-kyu main sanctuary assigned to the emperor and his ancestral god.

When the ceremony came to be held in the courtyard of the temple, emphasis was placed on the frontage of the Kondo, which was supposed to have been used as the Imperial stand (see also 7.2). The veranda of the Kondo became larger and was raised higher from the ground level and the number of front doors increased in the temples built in the capital after Kawahara-dera (see Table VII).

TABLE VII. EMPHASIS INCREASINGLY GIVEN TO THE FRONT AREA OF THE KONDO.

temples	No. of front doors	height of the veranda(m)	front area of the Kondo (m ²) +
* Kawahara-dera	3	0.6	128.09
Yakushi-ji	5	1.5	383.35
Todai-ji	7	2.1	716.00

* the Middle Kondo

+ the coloured space in Fig. 113

We have noted that finally in Todai-ji the emperor came to occupy the front area of the inside of the Kondo, which was treated as the extension of the veranda. This clearly marked his supremacy over the other participants of the ceremony, whose location was also arranged in accordance with their position in the social hierarchy.

7.6 After Todai-ji.

In the Asuka-Nara era, Buddhism was adopted and developed as a national religion to bolster the Imperial system. A Buddhist ceremony was also a political ceremony, in which it was always necessary to demonstrate the emperor's position at the apex of the social pyramid. After Emperor Shomu, his daughter Empress Koken (749-58) ascended to the throne. Although the empress abdicated in 758, she took office again in 764 in the name of Empress Shotoku (764-70). It is the later reign of this empress that became notorious in Japanese history for the scandalous interference of a dubious Buddhist monk, Dokyo, in the management of the Court. It had become usual by the end of the Nara period for the leading monks of the major state temples to be invited to the Court and to receive favours from the emperor or empress (Kitayama, 1965, p.159). The monks often meddled in politics, and Dokyo even tried to realise an audacious ambition to become emperor (Takahashi, 1968, p.68).

While the empress devoted herself to the construction of magnificent temples and palaces and eventually used up the Imperial fortune, in the provinces many local lords and rich farmers became monks and built temples in their fields so that they could evade taxes and expand their property (Kitayama, 1965, p.158). The most ambitious project of Empress

Shotoku was the construction of Saidai-ji, which was intended to outshine Todai-ji³ (Aoki, 1965, p.482) built by Emperor Shomu. Although the early texts admire the splendour of Saidi-ji (Kidder, 1972, p.121), little of the temple remains today.

Apart from Saidi-ji there is another temple built at the end of the eighth century which is worth mentioning. This is Toshodai-ji, which was constructed on land donated by the Imperial government to a great Chinese monk Chien-chen (Japanese name, Ganjin). Chien-chen arrived in Japan in 754 in spite of the tremendous difficulty and trying ordeal he went through during his journey of fourteen years, which cost him his eyesight. It should be noted that the building of the temple as well as the making of the images were supervised not by Imperial officers but by Chien-chen's Chinese colleagues. Toshodai-ji must be one of the earliest temples built by monks, and its function seems to have been different from that of the Saidai-ji and other Imperial temples in the capital. It may have been used more as a monastery where monks concentrated on their study and ascetic practice than as a location for elaborate ceremonies.

During the eighth century the power of the state temples reached its peak, but after the death of

3. While Todai-ji means East Great Temple, Saidai-ji means West Great Temple.

Empress Shotoku, the emperors tried to separate Buddhism from politics (Takahashi, 1968, p.68); they found the political power of the monks detrimental to the management of the government. In 794 Emperor Kammu (781-806) moved the capital from Heijo-kyo to Heian-kyo (Kyoto) leaving the temples behind. In order to curb the power of the temples he also withdrew Imperial financial support, reduced their household fiefs and prohibited farmers from giving or selling the land to the temples (Kitayama, 1965, p.332). After the transfer of the capital to Heian-kyo, the emperors lost much of their power to the heads of the leading families, establishing a pattern of relationship that lasted until the capital was moved to Edo (Tokyo) in 1868 (Kidder, 1972, p.158). The height of Imperial power in the eighth century was never again realised nor was the scale of the Todai-ji and the Four Great Temples of Heijo-kyo ever surpassed.

In the ninth century two religious reformers, Saicho (765-822) and Kukai (772-835), each founded a new sect. Although they still tended to treat Buddhism as the guardian religion of the nation, they paved the way for Buddhism to penetrate the life and mentality of the Japanese in every social stratum. (Kitayama, 1965, p.182). It was, however, not until the eleventh century that Buddhism really became a popular religion (ibid, p.182). From around this

time Japanese worshippers seem to have begun to be allowed in the Kondo. In the Ho-o-do temple built in 1053, where the cloister disappeared from the temple design, the Kondo was divided into three spaces (see Fig. 126) as in the Second Horyu-ji Kondo (see Fig. 127). While the ambulatory was approximately 1m wide in the Second Horyu-ji Kondo, the Ho-o-do Kondo had an ambulatory 2.7m wide. After the end of the twelfth century, the ambulatory of the Kondo came to be used not only for the worship of the Buddha but also for various religious events such as sutra-chanting, meditation and various ceremonies, and accordingly the interior design of the space became more sophisticated (Inoue ⑥, 1969, pp.182-3). As the Kondo came to be the central multi-purpose hall of the temple, the monks even penetrated to the inner sanctuary, the space originally assigned to the statue of the Buddha.

After the official introduction of Buddhism in 538, more than four centuries had to pass before worshippers could enter the Kondo. As we have shown, the Buddhist temple was first a monument to be looked at from the outside, and then at the next stage (beginning from the middle of the seventh century), the courtyard of the temple came to accommodate elaborate ceremonies. One of the main reasons why Japanese Buddhist temples took such a long time to open their Kondo to celebrants, lies in the peculiar nature of

early Japanese Buddhism, which developed as a national religion to bolster the Imperial system.

In this thesis we have presented only the outline of the development of early Japanese state temples from Asuka-dera (588) to Todai-ji (752), built during the period of 164 years. Our preoccupation with ground plan may be excused if consideration is given to the fact that in many cases only foundation stones remain. We admit that some of the suggestions made in this thesis, particularly the relationship between the design of the Shitenno-ji style temples and a four-gated Buddhist mandala, and the analysis of the ($\sqrt{2}:1$) ratio (see Chapter 4) are of a speculative nature and need further detailed investigation. We also realise that each of the topics we have dealt with can be further expanded, and the present writer is especially interested in examining the possible relationship between Buddhist music and the design of the pagoda. In this thesis we have discussed only the major state temples, but the study of the other types of temple, ^(See Appendix A-18b) the temples built by wealthy families in the capital and provinces, and their relationships with the state temples is a topic well worth exploring in the future.

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APPENDIX ITHE STORY OF IZANAGI'S VISIT TO YOMI

(A)

Izanagi, wishing to meet again his spouse Izanami, went after her to the land of Yomi.

When she came forth out of the door of the hall to greet him, Izanagi said:
"O, my beloved spouse, the lands which you and I were making have not yet been completed; you must come back!"

Then Izanami replied, saying:
"How I regret that you did not come sooner. I have eaten at the hearth of Yomi. But, O my beloved husband, how awesome is that you have entered here! Therefore I will go and discuss for a while with the gods of Yomi my desire to return. Pray do not look upon me!"

Thus saying, she went back into the hall, but her absence was so long that Izanagi could no longer wait.

Thereupon he broke off one of the large end-teeth of the comb he was wearing in his left hair-bunch, lit it as one fire, and entered in to see.

At this time, maggots were squirming and roaring in the corpse of Izanami.

In her head was Great-Thunder;
In her breast was Fire-Thunder;
In her belly was Black-Thunder;
In her genitals was Crack-Thunder;
In her left hand was Young-Thunder;
In her right hand was Earth-Thunder;
In her left foot was Sounding-Thunder;
In her right foot was Reclining-Thunder.

Altogether there were eight thunder-deities.

(B)

Having seen the horrible appearance of Izanami, Izanagi was afraid and fled. Izanami dispatched many deities to pursue him, but Izanagi defeated all of them. Finally Izanami herself came in pursuit of him. Then Izanagi pulled a tremendous boulder and closed the pass with it. They stood facing each other, one on each side of the boulder and broke their troth. At this time Izanami said, "If you do thus, I will each day strangle to death one thousand of the populace of your country." To this Izanagi said, "If you do thus, I will each day build one thousand five hundred parturation huts."

As a result one thousand people inevitably die and one thousand five hundred people are inevitably born every day. As he had been to a most unpleasant

land, a horrible, unclear land, Izanagi purified and exorcised himself.

(A) Chapter 9 of the Kojiki

(quoted from Philippi, 1969, pp. 61-63)

(B) The summary of Chapter 10 and the beginning of Chapter 11 of the Kojiki (based on Philippi, 1969, pp. 64-68)

Note

Philippi (1969, p. 400) has drawn the following conclusion about the land of Yomi based on the story:

- (1) The mental picture of Yomi was both simple and unstable.
- (2) There was no idea of final judgement or retribution or reward after death.
- (3) Yomi occasioned feelings of revulsion at its filth and pollution rather than feelings of fear or horror. Ritual impurity, rather than nightmarish horror is the keynote of the story.
- (4) Pollutions and evils originated in the land of the dead.
- (5) There were houses in Yomi; its inhabitants were conscious, moved about, and ate food, but in some respects the mode of existence of the dead differed from that of the living.

APPENDIX IISUMMARY OF THE FIVE SEQUENCES OF MYTH PRECEDING
THE HEAVENLY DESCENT SEQUENCE IN THE KOJIKI.

(based on Philippi, 1969, pp. 47-136.)

(1)

1. Cosmogony sequences (Chapters 1-2)

At the time of the beginning of heaven and earth, three deities came into existence as single deities and their forms were not visible. Next, when the land was young, resembling floating oil and drifting like a jellyfish, there sprouted forth something like reed-shoots. From these, two deities came into existence. These first five deities are the Separate Heavely Deities. Furthermore, two single deities came into existence, and each of them was called one generation. Another ten deities arranged in couples followed them, each couple being called one generation.

-
- (1) The cosmogony of the Kojiki is a step-by-step evolution of the universe; each step is symbolised by an appropriately named deity. Philippi (1969, p. 397) argues that the accounts in the first two chapters had little basis in popular tradition and that they were the intellectual products of the literati familiar with Chinese culture who were charged with editing a national mythology. These two chapters appear to have been brought in to provide a background for Izanagi, whose offspring Amaterasu was the heavenly progenitrix of the Imperial line, and to establish a setting for the activities of these deities.

2. Izanagi-Izanami sequences (Chapters 3-13)

Izanagi (male) and Izanami (female), one of the couples of deities, were ordered by the heavenly gods to solidify the land. After they had created Onokoro island, both deities descended from heaven to this island and erected a heavenly pillar and a spacious palace. Then, they started to circle round the pillar in opposite directions and when they met each other they married.

Izanagi and Izanami gave birth to fourteen islands. After they had finished bearing the land, they went on to bear numerous deities⁽²⁾ who were to inhabit the island. Izanami, however, was burnt to death when she delivered the fire-deity. Izanagi grieved over his wife's death, and breaking the taboo went after her to the nether land.

Izanagi met Izanami and asked her to return to him. Although Izanami asked him to wait until she obtained permission to leave there, Izanagi was not patient enough to wait and lit a fire. Then, he saw Izanami's disgustingly filthy appearance. Filled with fear Izanagi turned and fled. In spite

(2) These deities represented various natural phenomena and physical features of the land.

of the persistent pursuit Izanagi safely returned from the nether land.

While he was purifying himself in the river from the filth of the nether land, he gave birth to many deities. Among the fourteen children born from him, Izanagi specially chose three noble children and entrusted them with a mission to rule three different realms. Amaterasu (the Sun Goddess) was entrusted to rule Takamano-hara (heaven), Tukumiyomi (the moon god) the night, and Susano (wind storm god) the ocean. While Amaterasu and Tukumiyomi obeyed Izanagi's command, Susano did not rule the land entrusted to him. Izanagi was greatly enraged and condemned Susano into exile.

3. Takamano-hara sequences (Chapters 14-18)

Susano decided to go to see Amaterasu to take his leave of her. When he ascended to heaven, the mountains and rivers all roared and the lands all shook. Hearing this, Amaterasu became startled and suspected that her brother wanted to usurp her land. Although Susano insisted that he had no such intentions, Amaterasu was still suspicious of him. Then they decided to bear offspring to test the sincerity of Susano's motives.⁽³⁾ From Susano's

(3) They decided to ask for a divine judgement as to which of them was in the right. The issue was to be judged by the nature of the resulting children.

possessions three female children came into existence and from Amaterasu's five male children. Susano won because his offsprings were female.

Raging with victory Susano committed a series of vicious acts. As his misdeeds did not cease, Amaterasu was afraid and shut herself behind the heavenly rock-cave door. Then Takamanohara became completely dark, and all manner of calamities arose.

All the heavenly deities assembled and set up a sakaki tree in front of the cave and hung a large mirror in the middle branches. There, one of the deities started to stamp resoundingly upon the overturned bucket and became divinely possessed and exposed her breasts and private parts. Seeing this, the other deities laughed all at once. As she wondered what was happening outside, Amaterasu opened the door and gradually came out of the cave. Then a hidden deity took her hand and pulled her out while another deity extended a rope behind her.

Thus Takamanohara became light again and the heavenly deities punished Susano and expelled him from Takamanohara. Branded as a transgressor, Susano was sent wondering throughout the world.

4. Izumo sequences (Chapters 19-31)

Susano descended to the land of Izumo

and killed the eight-tailed dragon which had eaten many local maidens. He built his palace in Izumo and married twice.

Okuninushi was the sixth generation descendant of Susano. He had many brothers, but as he married Princess Yagami whom all of his brothers wanted to wed, he was killed by them. As his mother ascended to the heavens and pleaded with the deities, two gods were dispatched to restore him to life. Although Okuninushi revived, he was again killed by his brothers. This time his mother revived him and sent him away to avoid further danger.

Okuninushi arrived at the land of Susano and met Princess Suseri, Susano's daughter. They immediately fell in love with each other and became man and wife. Although Susano tested Okuninushi by giving him many difficult and dangerous tasks, Okuninushi was able to accomplish his tasks successfully. Susano finally approved of their marriage. Okuninushi returned home and pursued his brothers. When he had subdued them, Okuninushi began the creation of the land.

5. Land-ceding sequences (Chapters 32-37)

Amaterasu commanded that Toyoashihara-no-Mizuhono-kuni (the land of the plentiful reed

plains and autumn fresh rice-ears⁽⁴⁾ should be
 ruled by her child Oshihomimi⁽⁵⁾ and decided to send
 him there. When, however, Oshihomimi looked down
 upon the land from the Heavenly Floating Bridge,
 it was in an uproar. He returned to Amaterasu and
 explained the situation. Amaterasu assembled all
 the heavenly deities and they decided to dispatch
 Ameoi⁽⁶⁾ to subdue the unruly earthly deities of the
 land. Ameoi left Takamanohara, but he soon began
 to carry favour with Okuninushi and did not return
 for three years.

The heavenly deities sent another deity
 to the land, but this time again the deity took
 as wife the daughter of Okuninushi and did not
 carry out his mission. The third time the deities
 dispatched Takemikazuchi (the deity of thunder).
 He descended to Izumo and declared that the 'Central
 Land of the Reed Plains' over which Okuninushi held
 sway,⁽⁷⁾ was a land entrusted to the rule of Amaterasu's

(4) Japan

(5) One of the five male children borne by Amaterasu
 in her contest with Susano.

(6) Another of the five male children.

(7) Here it is plainly stated that the islands of Japan
 were ruled by Okuninushi from Izumo before the
 advent of the offspring of Amaterasu. Many scholars
 have seen in this statement an indication of Izumo's
 widespread political hegemony before the islands
 were unified under the Yamato clan. As Philippi
 points out (1969, p.130), however, it is improbable
 that the Japanese islands could be ruled successfully
 from such an isolated region as Izumo.

offspring. One of Okuninushi's two sons agreed to the return of the land, but the other son did not. The second son challenged Takemikazuchi to a contest of strength and was defeated and promised obedience.

Finally Okuninushi surrendered his land on condition that he was given a shrine equal in splendour to the palace of the offspring of Amaterasu.⁽⁸⁾ Takemikazuchi erected a shrine at Izumo⁽⁹⁾ and enshrined Okuninushi. He ascended to Takamanohara and reported that the pacification of the 'Central Land of Reed Plains' had been completed.

(8) the emperor.

(9) the origin of Izumo Shrine.

APPENDIX III

PLANS OF THE MAJOR STATE TEMPLES OF THE ASUKA-NARA ERA.

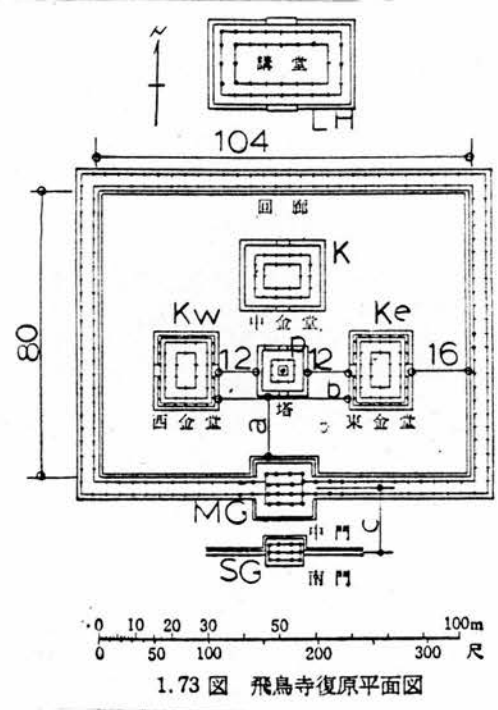
- (a) Asuka-dera
- (b) Shitenno-ji
- (c) the Second Horyu-ji
- (d) Kawahara-dera
- (e) Yakushi-ji
- (f) Daian-ji
- (g) Kofuku-ji
- (h) Ganko-ji
- (i) Todai-ji

Abbreviations used in Figures:

- P: pagoda
- K: Kondo
- MG: Middle Gate
- SG: South Gate
- LH: Lecture Hall

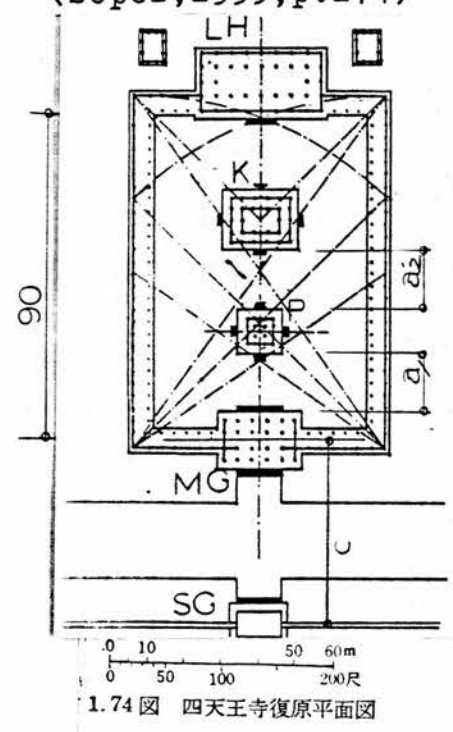
(a) Asuka-dera

(Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai, 1968, p.70)



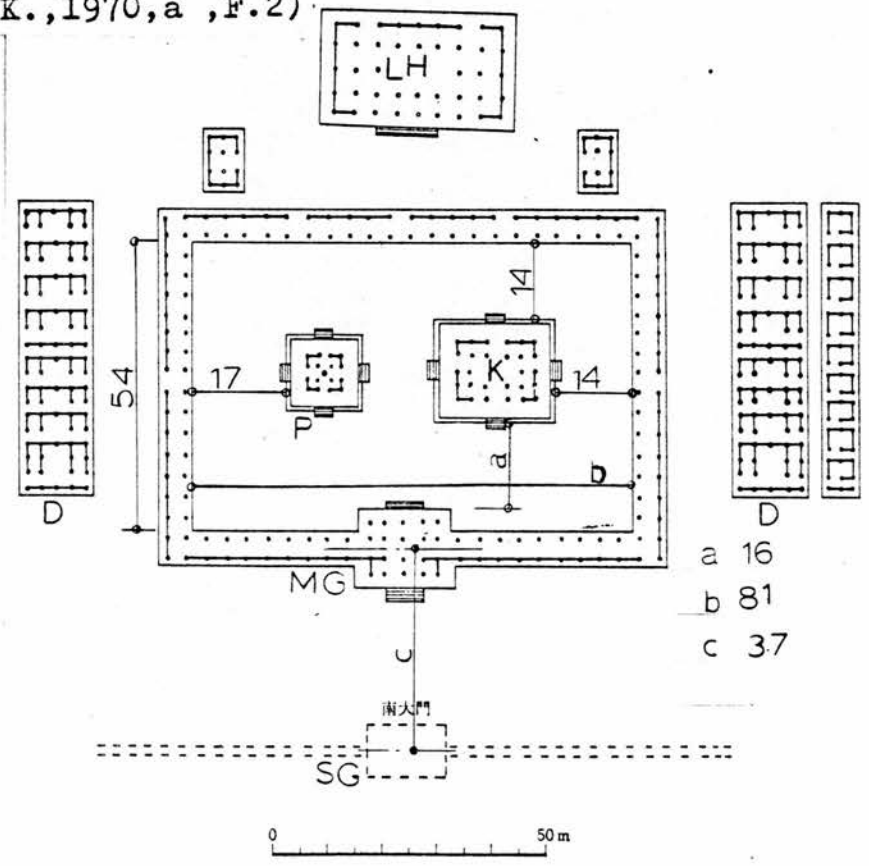
- a 17
- b 40
- c 21

(b) Shitenno-ji
(Soper, 1955, p.174)

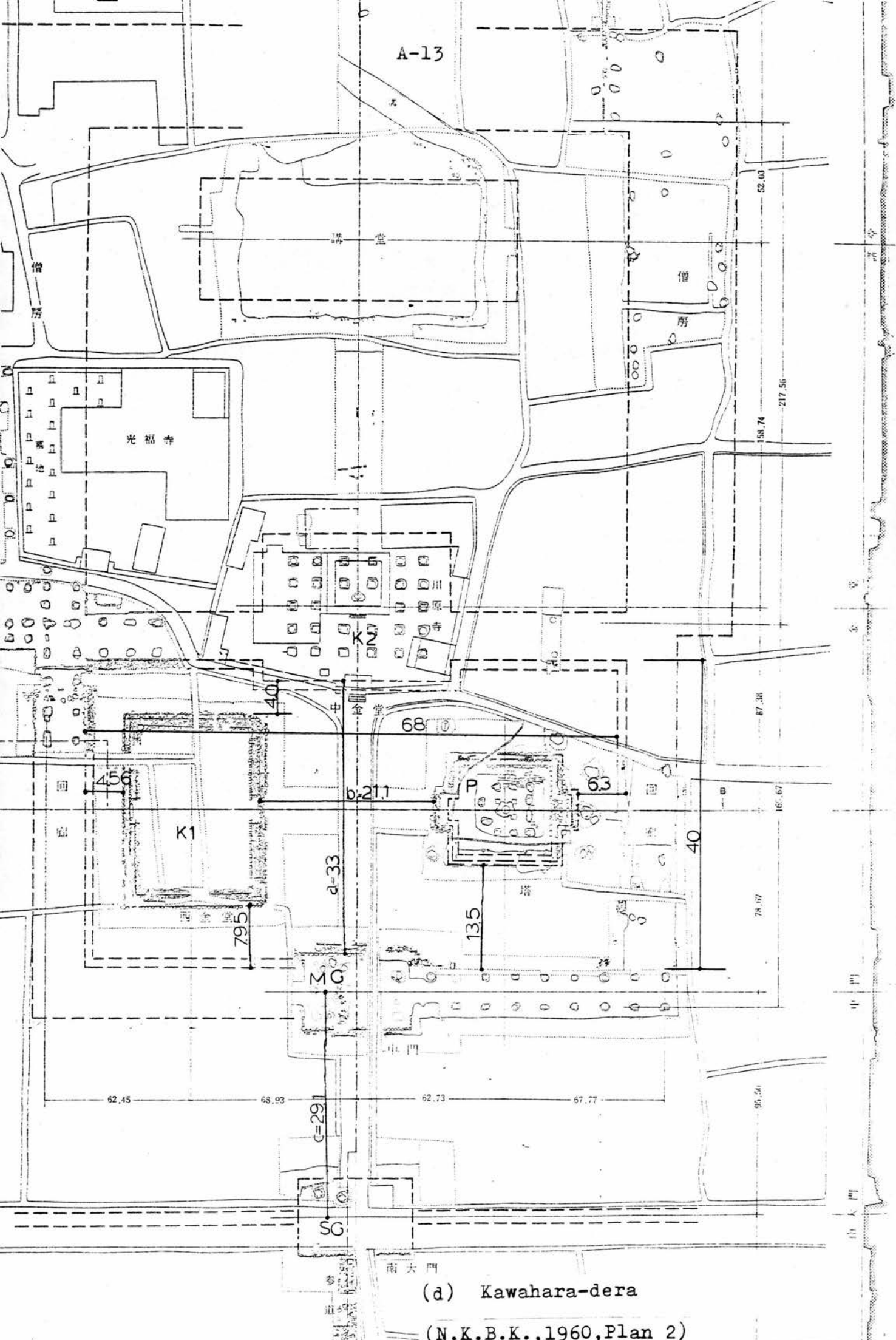


- a₁ 18 a₂ 16
- b 62
- c 42

(c) the Second Horyu-ji
(N.R.T.K., 1970, a, F.2)



- a 16
- b 81
- c 37



(d) Kawahara-dera

(N.K.B.K., 1960, Plan 2)

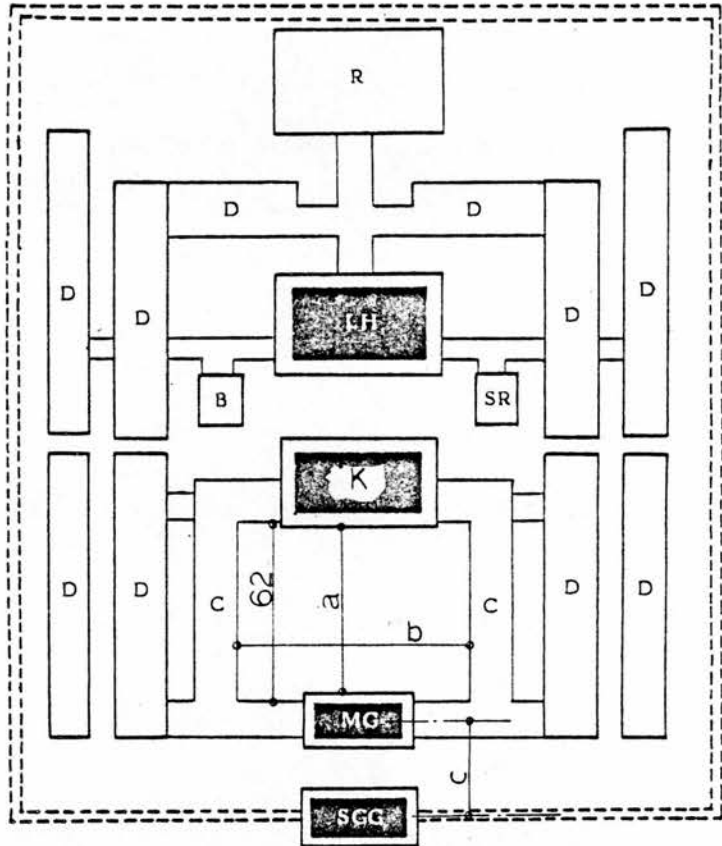


Fig. 48 Plan of Daian-ji, at Daianji-chō, Nara city. After 718



0 100 m.

a 53

b 65

c 31

(f) Daian-ji

(Kidder, 1972, p.113)

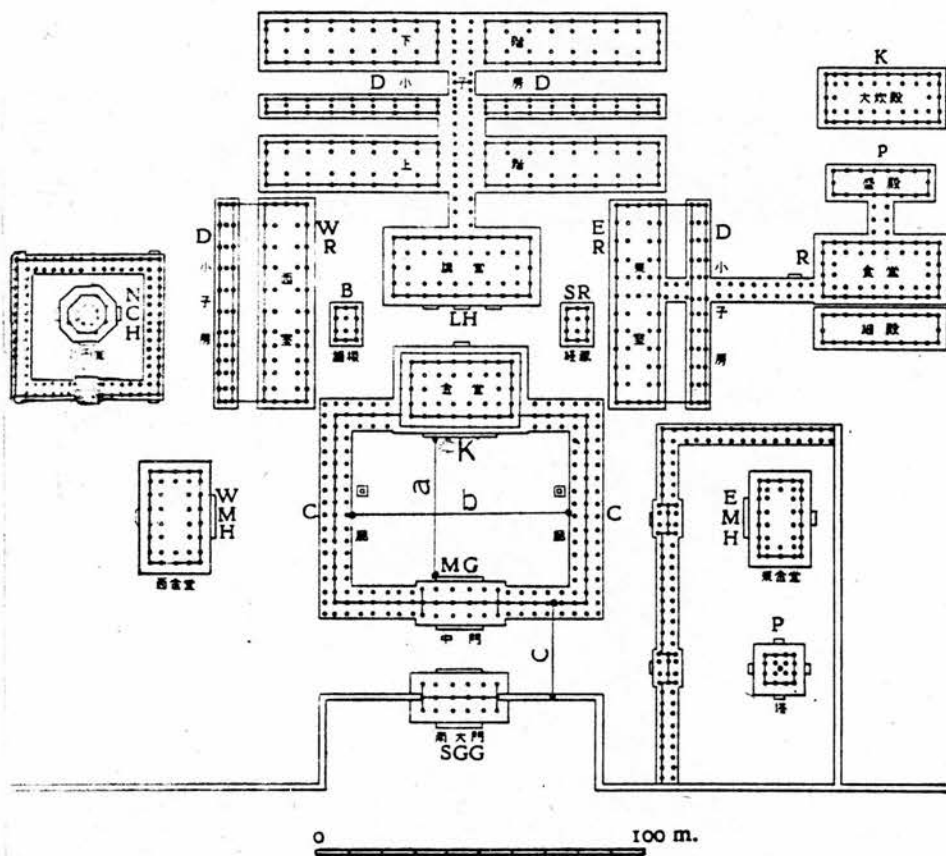
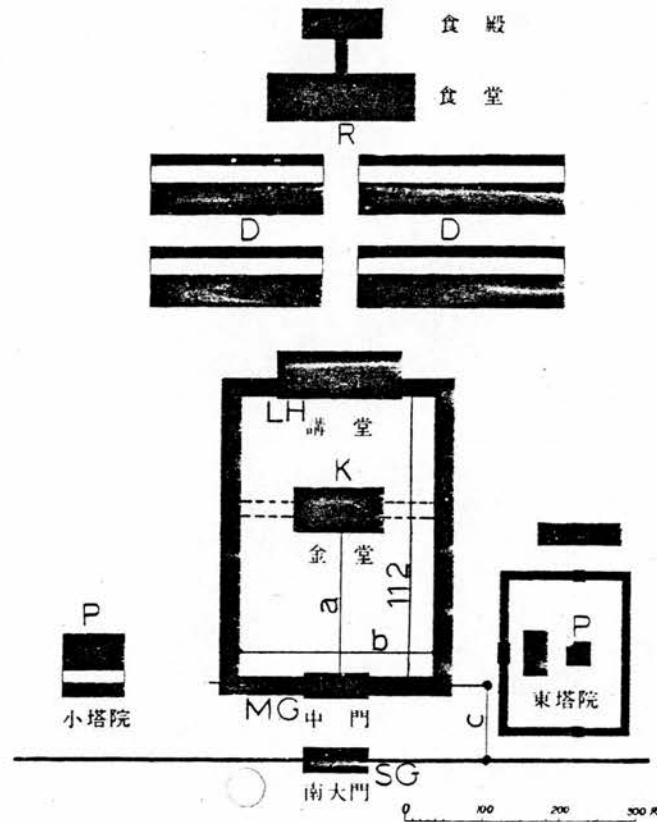


Fig. 51 Plan of Kōfuku-ji, in Tōdaiji-chō, Nara city. Middle of the eighth century

a	45
b	67
c	29

(g) Kofuku-ji
(Kidder, 1972, p. 118)

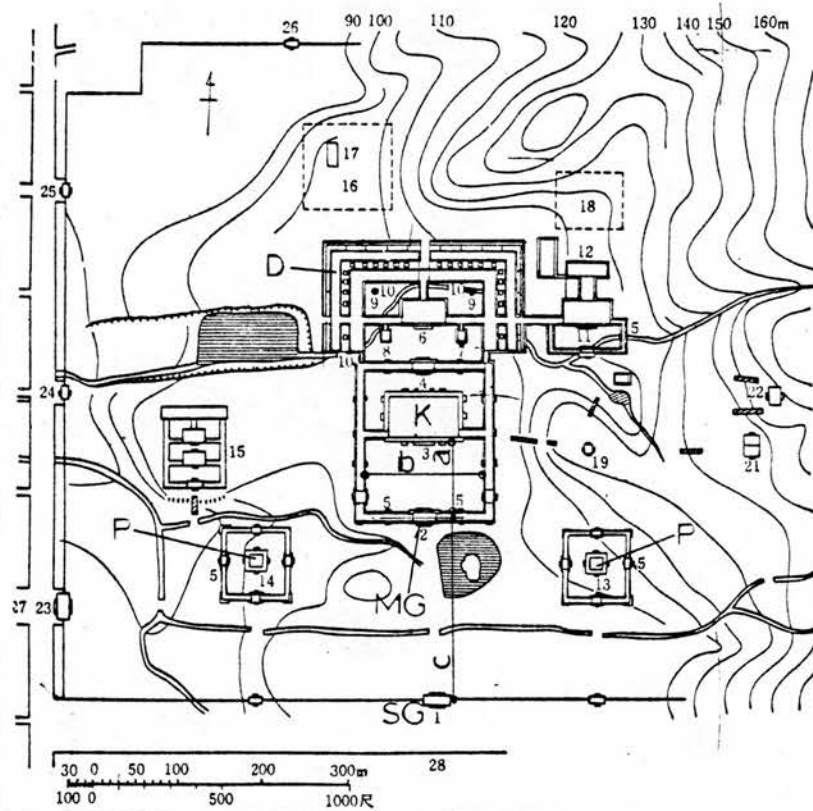


第五二圖 元興寺伽藍配置復原圖

a=54
b=75
c=29

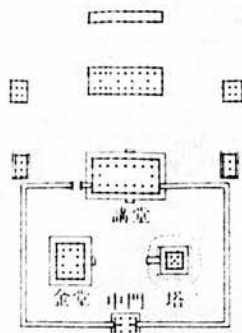
(h) Ganko-ji

(N.K.B.K., 1957, Fig. 52)



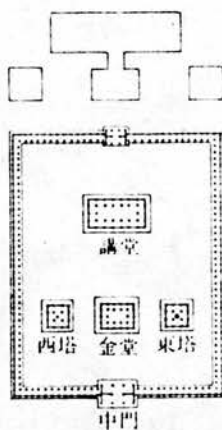
a 70
b 125
c 190

(i) Todai-ji
(Kidder, 1972, p. 117)



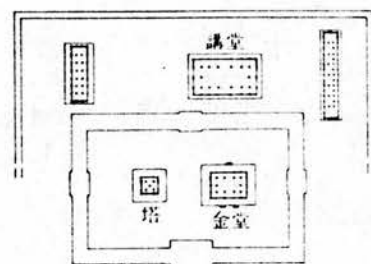
多賀城麻寺伽藍配置図

Tagajyo hai-ji



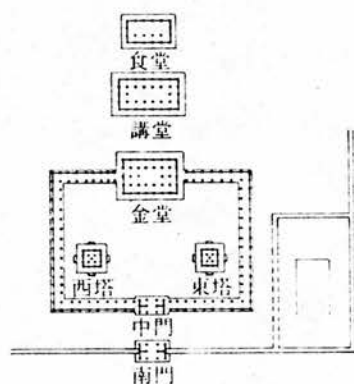
新治麻寺伽藍配置図

Nipari hai-ji



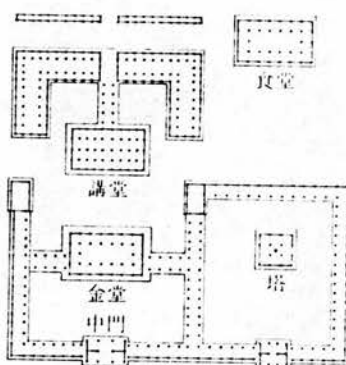
伊丹麻寺伽藍配置図

Itami hai-ji



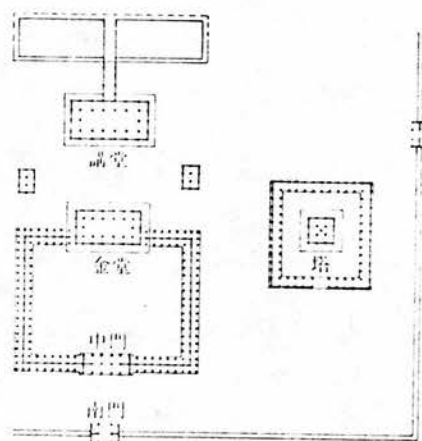
百濟麻寺伽藍配置図

Kudara hai-ji



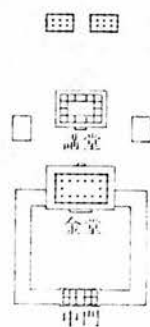
甲可寺伽藍配置図

Kogadera



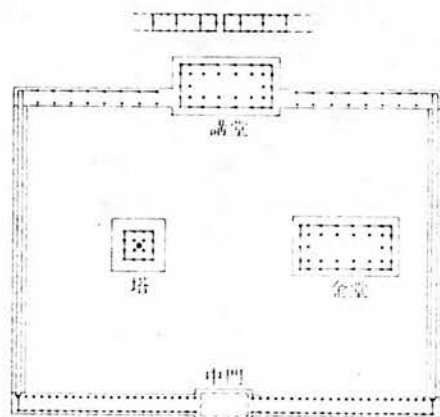
陸奥国分寺伽藍配置図

Mutu-kokubun-ji



下野国分尼寺伽藍配置図

Shimono-kokubun-nyo-ji



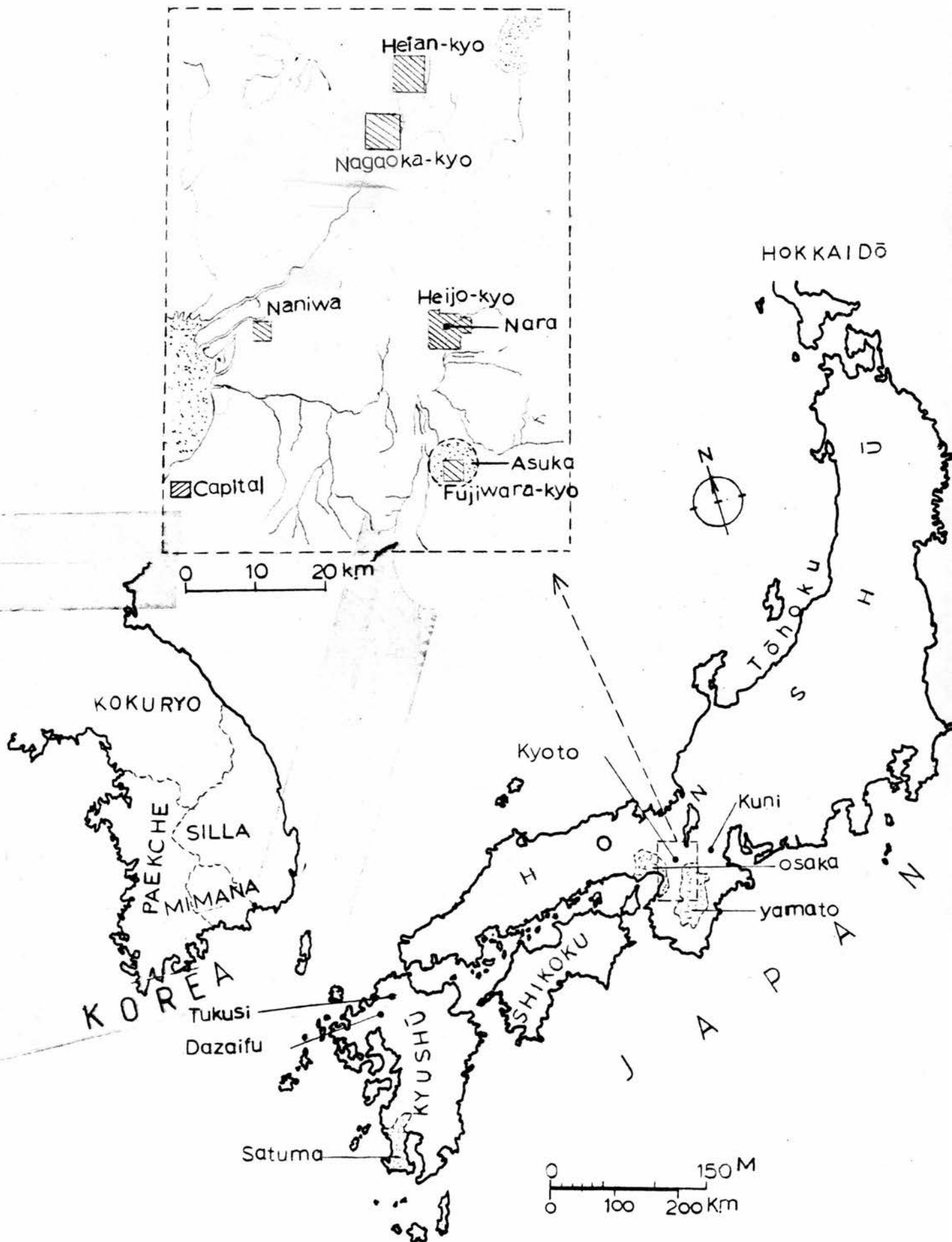
相模国分寺伽藍配置図

Soma-kokubun-ji

0 50 100m

The plans of the other type of temples of the Asuka-Nara Era.

Asano, K.(1977, pp.156-157)

APPENDIX IVMAP OF JAPAN AND KOREA.

APPENDIX VJAPANESE RULERS FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM
TO THE END OF THE NARA PERIOD.

<u>Ruler's Name</u>	<u>Reign Dates</u>	<u>Name of Palace</u>
Kimmei	539-571	Shikishima no Kunasashi
Bidatsu	572-585	Kudara-o-i
Yomei	585-587	Ikebe-namitsuki
Sushun	587-592	Kurahashi no Shibagaki
Suiko(F)	592-628	Toyura, Owarida (Asuka village)
Jomei	628-641	Asuka Okamoto Kudara, Tanaka, Umasaka
Kogyoku(F)	641-645a	Asuka Itabuki Naniwa no Nagara Toyosaki
Kotoku	645-654	" " " "
Saimei(F)*	655-661	" " " " Asuka Kawahara Asuka Okamoto
Tenchi	661-671	Omi (Otsu)
Kobun	672	" "
Temmu	672-686	Asuka Kiyomigahara; Naniwa
Jito(F)	686-697a	Fujiwara
Mommu	697-707	"
Gemmyo(F)	707-715a	" Heijo
Gensho(F)	715-724a	"
Shomu	724-749a	Heijo; Kuni; Naniwa; Shigaraki
Koken(F)	749-758a	Heijo
Junnin	758-764a	Heijo; Hora
Shotoku(F) ⁺	764-770	Heijo; Yuge
Konin	770-781	Heijo
Kammu	781-806	Heijo Nagaoka Heian

(F): Empress a: Abdicated

*Same person as Kogyoku +Same person as Koken

APPENDIX VIGLOSSARY

Amaterasu- Omikami (天照大神)	Sun Goddess and legendary ancestress of the Japanese Imperial House.
Asuka-dera (飛鳥寺)	the first full-scale Japanese Buddhist temple built in 588 by Soga-no-Umako.
Asuka-Nara era (飛鳥・奈良時代)	the period 538-794.
Asuka-no- kiyomigahara- ryo (飛鳥浄御原令)	the first Japanese code of laws established in 689.
Bon-sen (梵線)	the immaculate line, a line which purifies and clenses. The diagonals of square are called <u>bon-sen</u> in a Japanese mandala.
Botoku-ji (望徳寺)	a Buddhist temple built in Silla (Korea) around 684.
Busshari (仏舍利)	Buddhist relics which typically consist of Buddha's ashes, nails, hair, etc.
Butsu-mon (仏門)	the gate for Buddha. (see Zoku-mon.)
Chigi (千木)	the continuation of crossed gable-end boards forming V-shaped projections above the ridge.
Cho-do-in (朝堂院)	Administrative Palace.
Daijo Ceremony (大嘗祭)	a ceremony celebrated at the beginning of the emperor's reign, which acted as the official approval of the status of the emperor who came to the throne.

Daijo-kyu
(大嘗宮)

a temporary shrine erected for the performance of the Daijo Ceremony.

Dosho (道昭)

a Buddhist monk who first received a Buddhist cremation in 700.

Dotaku (銅鐸)

bronze objects of indeterminate purpose, resembling in shape a somewhat flattened bell, that have been unearthed in various parts of Japan.

Engishiki
(延喜式)

50 volumes of regulations of the Court and ceremonies, carried out at the end of the eighth century. Completed in 927.

Enryaku-Gishiki-cho
(延暦儀式帳)

a report prepared by the Ise Shrine in 804, in accordance with the request of the Imperial Court, in which detailed account is given of the history, architecture, finance, administration and annual events of the Ise Shrine.

Fukubachi
(伏鉢)

a small hemisphere below the nine parasol disks of the spire of the Japanese pagoda.

Fujiwara Hirotsugu
(藤原広嗣)

one of the high officials of the Court of the mid-8th century, who raised a rebellion in 740.

Fujiwara-kyo
(藤原京)

the capital constructed in the Asuka region by Empress Jito in 694.

Gagaku-ryo
(雅樂寮)

Department of Music, one of the Governmental organisations founded in 701.

Ganko-ji
(元興寺)

a Buddhist temple constructed in Heijo-kyo in 718. (another name for Asuka-dera.)

- Garan (伽藍) the cloistered area and its buildings in the Buddhist temple.
- Gejin (外陣) the ambulatory of the Kondo.
- Geku (外宮) the Outer Shrine of the Ise Shrine (see Naiku).
- Gigaku (伎樂) accompanying music for the silent mask drama, originated in the Chinese Wu(吳) Dynasty.
- Gyogi (行基) a Buddhist monk who started to preach Buddhism in the street in the mid-8th century. He was later patronised by Emperor Shomu.
- Heian period (平安時代) the period 794-1192, when the capital was Heian-kyo.
- Heian-kyo (平安京) the capital constructed in the present Kyoto city in 794 under the direction of Emperor Kammu.
- Heijo-kyo (平城京) the capital constructed in the present Nara city in 710 under the direction of Empress Gemmyo.
- Himorogi (神籬) the first three-dimensional religious object erected on the shinchi. There is the view that the himorogi were sakaki trees, or that they were pillars, while another view holds that the word himorogi refers to temporary altars set up for rites which included both pillars and sakaki branches.
- Hoju (宝珠) multi-coloured metal ornaments on the veranda railings of the two main sanctuaries of the Ise Shrine.

Horyu-ji

(法隆寺)

the First Horyu-ji=a Buddhist temple built in 607 in the Shitenno-ji style under the direction of Prince Shotoku.

the Second Horyu-ji=a Buddhist temple built after the original Horyu-ji burnt down in 670.

Horyu-ji Engi-shizaicho

(法隆寺縁起資財帳)

history and inventory of the Horyu-ji.

Inabe (燭名部)

a guild of architectural specialists made up of descendants of Korean immigrant carpenters.

Ishijiki-hiroba

(石敷広場)

the stone-floored place which was to the south of the South Gate of the Asuka-dera.

Iwakura (磐くら)

rocks and stones in which it was believed deities dwelled.

Iwasaka (磐境)

a sacred site marked by a border of rocks or stones.

Kairyu-o-ji

(海竜王寺)

a Buddhist temple built in Heijo-kyo in the mid-8th century.

Katsuogi

(堅魚木)

tapered wood cylinders set crosswise along the ridge.

Kawahara-dera

(川原寺)

a Buddhist temple built in the Asuka region during the period 661-667.

Kofuku-ji

(興福寺)

a family temple of the Fujiwaras, built in Heijo-kyo in the 730's.

Kojiki (古事記)

the oldest extant book in Japanese completed in 712. It is the Court's statement about the origin of the Imperial clan, Yamato and the beginning of Japan as a nation.

Kondo (金堂)

a hall where the principal Buddha image of the temple is placed.

Konjaku Monogatari
(今昔物語)

The once-upon-a-time Stories, completed in the mid-11th century.

Konkomyo-saisho-o
sutra

(金光明最勝王經)

a ten volume Buddhist scripture known as the guardian scripture of the nation, which specifically advocates national stability through the encouragement of Buddhism.

Koryu-ji (Japanese)
(広隆寺)

a Shitenno-ji style temple founded by Prince Shotoku in Kyoto.

Koryu-ji (Korean)
(皇龍寺)

a Korean Shitenno-ji style temple built in 584.

Kudara-dai-ji
(百濟大寺)

a Buddhist temple built under the direction of Emperor Jomei in 639. The temple was later rebuilt as Daian-ji by Emperor Temmu.

Manyoshu (万葉集)

the oldest collection of poetry in Japan.

Miyake (米倉)

Imperial storehouse set up in the provinces, which also functioned as a local administration centre and tax office.

Mononobe-no-Moriya
(物部守屋)

head of the Mononobe family, a conservative Shintoist clan who opposed the introduction of Buddhism.

Munamochi-bashira
(棟持柱)

ridge-supporting post

Naijin (内陣)

the inner chapel of the Kondo.

Naiku (内宮)

the Inner Shrine of the Ise Shrine.

Nakano-o-e(Prince)

(中大兄皇子)

the eldest son of Emperor Jomei and Empress Kogyoku. One of the two principal architects of the coup which brought about the Taika Reform in 645. Later he was enthroned as Emperor Tenchi.

Nihon Shoki

(日本書紀)

the Chronicles of Japan, an eighth century compilation that terminates in the year 697.

Nishiki-no-shita

(西槻の下)

space outside the West Gate of the Asuka-dera, which is supposed to have been used for ceremonies and receptions.

Sakaki (榊)

an evergreen tree sacred in the Shinto religion.

Satchu (刹柱)

a centre pole unique to the structure of the Japanese pagoda.

Shimmei style

(神明造)

building style unique to the Ise Shrine, which is characterised by the thatched roof, the chigi, the katsuogi and the pillars directly driven into the ground.

Shinchi (神地)

a holy space venerated as an abode of a god. The space was generally larger than iwasaka and did not include a holy object.

Shin-no-mihashira

(心の御柱)

sacred central post half buried in the ground, which is the symbol of the divine presence at the main sanctuaries of the Ise Shrine.

Shitenno-ji

(四天王寺)

a Buddhist temple built in Naniwa in 593 under the direction of Prince Shotoku.

Shinto (神道)

traditional Japanese non-Buddhist religious practices, which is rooted exclusively in localised animistic concepts.

Shoku Nihongi
(続日本記)

the Chronicles of Japan, which covers the period 697-792. An imperially ordered continuation of the Nihon Shoki.

Shotoku(Prince)
(聖徳太子)

son of Emperor Yomei. He was regent and heir apparent in the reign of Empress Suiko and founded the major Shitenno-ji style temples.

Soga-no-Iname
(蘇我稲目)

head of the Soga family under the reign of Emperor Kimmei. He made Buddhism his family religion.

Soga-no-Iruka
(蘇我入鹿)

grandson of Soga-no-Umako. He was assassinated in the coup of 645.

Soga-no-Umako
(蘇我馬子)

son of Soga-no-Iname, and the founder of the Asuka-dera.

Soni-ryo
(僧尼令)

regulations for Buddhist monks and nuns, which was included in the Taiho Civil and Penal Codes of 701.

Suki-in
(主基院)

one of the two main sanctuaries of the Daijo-kyu (see Yuki-in).

Tachibana-dera
(橘寺)

one of the Shitenno-ji style temples, built at the beginning of the 7th century.

Taiho Civil and Penal Codes
(大宝律令)

civil and penal codes of laws established in 701, which became a stable base for a Japanese society.

Taika Reform
(大化改新)

drastic changes in the political, legal and economical systems, carried out after the coup of 645.

Todai-ji
(東大寺)

a Buddhist temple built under the direction of Emperor Shomu to house the statue of the Great Buddha in 752.

Torii (鳥居)

archway which symbolises purification. The torii was originally erected both in the Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples, but was later built only in the Shinto shrines.

To-shitsu (東室)

the monks' quarter built in the east sub-temple of the Horyu-ji.

Toyoke Omikami
(豊受大神)

Goddess of Cereals, enshrined in the Geku of the Ise Shrine.

Yakushi-ji
(薬師寺)

a Buddhist temple built under the direction of Emperor Temmu as a votive offering for the recovery of his consort, who had contracted an eye disease. Completed around 698.

Yamato clan
(大和民族)

a clan which is believed to be the ancestor of the Japanese Imperial House.

Yomi (黄泉)

the nether land in Japanese mythology.

Yuiitsu Shimmei
style (唯-神明造)

building style unique to the two main sanctuaries of the Ise Shrine. It can be distinguished from the Shimmei style by the additional veranda and the shin-no-mihashira.

Yuki-in (悠紀院)

one of the two main sanctuaries of the Daijo-kyu.

Zoku-mon (俗門)

the gate for laymen (see Butsu-mon).